

Between Spanish America and Europe: Matto de Turner's (Inter)National Identities in *Viaje de recreo*

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Abstract: “Between Spanish America and Europe: Matto de Turner's (Inter)National Identities in *Viaje de recreo*” contributes to the scholarship on Clorinda Matto de Turner by refining our understanding of her rearticulation of her position in society in an international context. Privileged in many ways, Matto was marginal in her nation as a woman and in her travels as a Hispanic individual. This article argues that travel, moving across literal and metaphorical boundaries, provided her with opportunities to re-formulate her position vis-à-vis her nation and the countries she visited strengthening her voice in the (inter)national scenarios available to her. As Matto defined her position in respect to her nation and western metropolitan “centers,” she appropriated diverse identities to assert the legitimacy of her authorial voice, and by doing so, expanded the sphere of her influence in the nation and beyond. While defining her own position in society, Matto also interrogated the symbolic exclusion of her native Peru, Argentina, and Spanish America at large from western modernity by representing the relationship between Europe and Spanish America as mutually enriching and dependent. In the field of travel literature, this work contributes to the research on nineteenth-century travel from “periphery” to “center” in the West, foregrounding the complexities of self-representation of a Hispanic woman writer.

Key words: travel literature, national identity, international travel, 19th-century travel, modernity, woman traveler, woman writer, Clorinda Matto de Turner

Resumen: “Between Spanish America and Europe: Matto de Turner's (Inter)National Identities in *Viaje de recreo*,” contribuye a la investigación sobre Clorinda Matto de Turner por refinar nuestro entendimiento de su rearticulación de su posición en la sociedad en un contexto internacional. Aunque en muchos sentidos fue una mujer de privilegio, Matto se marinalizó en su propia nación como mujer, y en sus viajes, como individuo hispano. Este artículo sostiene que viajar, travesar fronteras literales y metafóricas, le proporcionó oportunidades para reformular su posición referente a su nación y los países que visitó, fortaleciendo su voz dentro de los entornos internacionales que se le abrieron. A la medida que Matto definió su posición con respecto a su nación y “centros” metropolitanos del oeste, apropió diversas identidades para insistir en la legitimidad de su voz autorial, y así expandió la esfera de su influencia tanto dentro de como más allá de la nación. Al definir su propia posición en la sociedad, Matto también interrogó la exclusión simbólica de su hogar nativo—a la vez Perú, Argentina e Hispanoamérica—de la modernidad del oeste, por representar la relación entre Europa e Hispanoamérica como mutuamente enriquecedora y dependiente. En el campo de la literatura de viajes, este trabajo contribuye a la investigación sobre el viaje del siglo diecinueve, de la “periferia” al “centro” en el Oeste, haciendo resaltar las complejidades de la auto-representación de una mujer escritora hispana.

Palabras clave: literatura de viajes, identidad nacional, viaje internacional, viaje del siglo diecinueve, modernidad, viajera (mujer), escritora (mujer), Clorinda Matto de Turner

In the nineteenth century, the expansion of capitalist modes of production and distribution as well as accelerated technological transformations powerfully influenced the dynamics of various social relations, changing, among other things, the meaning and paradigms of travel. Although administrative and scientific journeys remained largely a male prerogative, the so-called family tour and travel for leisure or tourism developed in response to traveling needs of both men and women. A relative democratization of travel and the development of print capitalism were accompanied by the growing popularity of travel literature, a genre capable of assuming different forms and reaching various audiences. In spite of its currency in nineteenth- and twentieth-century letters, until recently travel literature has received scarce critical

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attention, allegedly because of the uncertainty of its genre and perhaps also because of its popular and commercial associations. Since 1980, things have changed dramatically. As practitioners of Cultural and Subaltern Studies embarked on the deconstruction of the histories dedicated to the deeds of “great men,” there arose an interest in marginal groups, borderline spaces, liminal experiences, racial as well as discursive hybridities, and experiences of displacement and cultural mixture. What in the past disqualified travel literature from systematic analytical scrutiny – variety of form and content – became the very reason for its theorization (Clark 2). The theories of travel – by such critics as James Buzard, Mary Louise Pratt, James Duncan and Gregory Derek, and Steve Clark – predominantly draw on narratives of travels from Anglo-American and French “centers” to “peripheries,” which on the academic level duplicates and perpetuates the myth of Northern Europe as the main agent of history. The scholarship dealing with the reverse travels, from the so-called periphery to the center, is still scarce, as is the case of Spanish American travel writing. The objective of this article is to contribute to this scholarship by analyzing *Viaje de recreo*, a travel narrative by a well-known Peruvian-born novelist and essayist, Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909).¹

In May of 1908, Matto embarked on a trip from her adopted fatherland, Argentina, to Europe. Commissioned by the Argentinean government to study European education systems, she spent six months visiting schools and other institutions of interest as well as meeting distinguished intellectuals and public figures in Spain, France, England, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. *Viaje de recreo*, a travel narrative based on her impressions of her European tour, is her longest non-fiction narrative, published posthumously in December of 1909. In what follows, I discuss Matto's articulation of her complex position in respect to Peru and the places she visited in *Viaje*, foregrounding the tensions between her non-belonging and the will to belong to these spaces. Indeed, in her narrative, Matto identifies culturally with both northern and southern Europe as well as Peru, Argentina, and Spanish America at large, although none of these locations seems to have been ultimately her home. Persecuted by the forces that led the coup against President Andrés Cáceres, Matto left Peru and lived in Argentina for thirteen years, intensely missing her native land. Matto's contributions to Peruvian and Argentinean nations entitled her to identify with both of them; as a woman, however, she did not have rights of citizenship in any of the countries of her residence. Similarly, in Europe Matto felt like an insider familiar with European culture. Europeans, however, either ignored Spanish America or considered it backward and non-modern. This disjunction – of partaking of and being foreign to European culture – positioned Matto both within and outside of European modernity. I argue that travel provided Matto with opportunities to interrogate both the ostracism she faced in Peru and the international marginalization of Spanish America by Europeans. It is from the height of her international recognition and experience that Matto asserts the legitimacy of her critique of Peruvian reality and reconfigures the relationship between Spanish America and Europe in *Viaje*.

What follows is divided into three parts. An overview of nineteenth-century women's position in the nation is followed by the discussion of Matto's exile from Peru to Argentina. In the third and fourth sections, I turn to the analysis of her position vis-à-vis her nation and Europe in her travels, respectively.

On the Fringes of the Nation: Nineteenth-Century Women in the West

The nineteenth century is often described as a period of change in the West: while new political ideals clashed with established forms of government leading to

¹ *Viaje de recreo* has not been re-edited in Spanish since the date of its original publication in 1909 nor has there been any serious critical engagement with this work.

numerous armed conflicts in Europe and the Americas, industrialization and modernization altered production and labor relations, becoming yardsticks of “progress.” These changes brought in their wake a relative democratization of society along with new forms of oppression, discrimination, and exclusion. The position of women admirably reflects the changes shaping western society at the moment. Once considered “imperfect males,” in the nineteenth century women became viewed as rational beings and men's companions.² This apparently progressive shift did not, however, substantially alter women's secondary status in society. Political participation, economic entitlements, university education, and professional careers remained exclusive upper- and middle-class male prerogatives for most of the century. Francine Masiello uses the term “republican motherhood” to aptly describe domestic obligations “patriotic” women were encouraged to perform as service to their nation (34).

Not surprisingly, in Peru, the appearance of the first generation of women intellectuals occurred rather late in the century, in the wake of the Romantic movement.³ The romantic conception of literature as a politically neutral space in which aesthetic ideals could be freely expressed coincided with a new understanding of the woman-defined sphere (home) visualized as a safe haven protected from the vicissitudes of political struggles. The image of the ideal woman also underwent transformations. Sensual and enigmatic *tapada*, still an icon of a paradigmatic *limeña* in the first half of the nineteenth century, receded into background as Luis Benjamín Cisneros, Carlos Augusto Salaverry, Manuel Nicolás Corpancho, José Arnaldo Márquez and a young Ricardo Palma represented the essence of the modern Peru through the images of a domestic, motherly, educated, and chaste femininity (Denegri, *El Abanico* 40-41). The ideal of educated womanhood and the definition of literature as devoid of controversial political content opened the door for Peruvian women's debut in literature in the 1860s and 1870s.

Peruvian women's participation in intellectual activities in the second part of the nineteenth century was neither unproblematic nor unconditional. Members of aristocracy and conservative clergy mounted a strong opposition against women writers, devaluing and ridiculing their intellectual endeavors. More devastatingly, different expectations developed regarding men's and women's writing. Women were encouraged to write as women, that is, to limit themselves to the exploration of sentimental issues shunning a “male” prerogative of political, religious, and social criticism.

Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's insights on the relationship between the state and marginal individuals may help explain nineteenth-century women's position in western societies. According to the critics, the state – as an entity which “forms the conditions under which we are juridically bound” – produces modes of both juridical belonging and non-belonging (3-4). As the state articulates its existence as a nation, it sets the parameters for the inclusion and exclusion of individuals. Butler and Spivak argue that the excluded individuals, that is, all those whose “age, gender, race, nationality, and labor status not only disqualify them for citizenship

2 In his book *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Thomas Laqueur demonstrates that the idea of two separate sexes appeared sometime in the eighteenth century. For most of western history, men and women were thought of sharing the same sex; the difference between them was thus that of hierarchy and the degree of perfection, not of essence. By around 1800, however, “writers of all sorts were determined to base what they insisted were fundamental differences between the male and female sexes, and thus between man and woman, on discoverable biological distinctions and to express these in a radically different rhetoric” (5). The dominant view since then has been the existence of two “stable, incommensurable, opposite” sexes corresponding to men and women, whose political, economic, and cultural lives and gender roles had to be based on their sexual differences (6).

3 The following section on the first generation of Peruvian women intellectuals is based on Francesca Denegri's book *El abanico y la cigarra: La primera generación de mujeres ilustradas en Perú*.

but actively 'qualify' them for statelessness," are not outside of or opposed to the state, but rather are contained, controlled, and produced as marginal by the state (5, 15).

Although Butler's and Spivak's objective is to critique twentieth-century state oppression, their analysis offers an explanation of the mechanisms of instituting legal dispossession of certain individuals as a matrix of existence in the state (and beyond) which could be applied to other scenarios. Like twentieth-century marginal groups, nineteenth-century women were both contained and dispossessed by the state in that they lacked most legal rights but their economic and social existence was firmly controlled by state regulations and institutions. Nineteenth-century women's marginal status was thus a deliberately produced discriminating condition.

Women's disenfranchised position in the nation has led various critics to describe their agency as subversive to the nationalistic projects: without means of realizing their potential in the nation, women turned to alternative (imagined) communities. Pratt observes, for example, that

En la política, los movimientos femeninos autónomos han sido más frecuentemente internacionalistas y antimilitaristas. . . . En las letras, al menos antes de 1945, las intelectuales latinoamericanas pensaban no en términos de patrimonios nacionales (que típicamente han excluido su trabajo) sino más bien en términos mundiales o hemisféricos. Actuando como escritoras, comentaristas, editoras de revistas, traductoras, antologistas y mentoras, muchas enfocaron su trabajo cultural en prácticas de lo que se podría llamar mediación transnacional. Como escritoras de ficción, muchas veces jugaron con el imaginario androcéntrico nacional de una manera fascinante, desafiando sus parámetros en textos muchas veces incomprensibles dentro de la homología nación-cultura. ("Las mujeres" 55)

Pratt describes women's engagement with the concept of the nation in terms which destabilize it or expand it to include other spaces and/or subjects. Similarly, Leona S. Martin notes women's privileging of internationalism and pan-Hispanic ideals in their writings which "reflects a crucial core identity that republican nation builders could neither deny nor evade" (440). I would like to add that women's inter- and transnationalism did not work only as a destabilizing aspect in the formation of the nation; nor does it point only to women's search for an alternative space of belonging. Women's inter- and transnationalism can also be understood as an important aspect of their negotiation of a position within the nation, as I hope to demonstrate in what follows.

From Peru to Argentina: Matto's Forced Exile

Given the paradigms of conventional womanhood (passive, domestic) and mainstream articulations of the national identity (white, European), Matto was bound to be a controversial figure in her native land.⁴ Unlike most of her colleagues in Lima, she grew up between Cuzco and a family property in the province of Calca, learning the Quechua language and customs from her indigenous friends. The time when she moved to Lima in 1886 coincided with the ascendance to the presidency of Cáceres, the first representative of the Andean ruling classes to occupy this position. A staunch

⁴ For a discussion of *criollo* elites' self-projection as white and European in the second half of the nineteenth century see "Narratives of Legitimation: The Invention of History-Monument and the Nation-State" by Mario J. Valdés and Djelal Kadir.

supporter of the new president, Matto popularized life in the *sierra* in her fiction and periodistic essays vouching for the integration of indigenous culture and language into the articulations of the national identity, thus markedly disagreeing with the aspirations of most *limeños*. Her controversial *Aves sin nido* and political essays evoked the rage of the opponents of Cáceres for two reasons: on the account of the representation of the *serrano* point of view and because she as a woman voiced oppositional ideas critical of the local authorities.⁵ Even if other *serrano* intellectuals were also in a difficult position in Lima, Matto was disadvantaged both as a *serrana* and a woman. Not surprisingly, during the coup against Cáceres in 1894, her house was sacked, her publishing house destroyed, she and her brother threatened with death. There also developed a virulent attack against the writer in the press, which aimed to ridicule and critique both her Andean origin and gender. Matto's vilification in the national press lasted for years. This public outrage culminated in the burning of her books, the journal she directed, and her image in three largest Peruvian cities, Lima, Arequipa, and Cuzco, followed by her excommunication and a permanent exile.

The gendered nature of the attacks against Matto is suggested by the fact that she was the only well-known intellectual thus attacked at the time. Her public visibility and outspokenness in favor of *serranos* played a major role in unleashing a persecution against her. Indeed, Matto managed to build an impressive career as a fiction writer and an essayist. After the success of her literary debut in Lima in 1877 at Juana Manuela Gorriti's *veladas*, she contributed to and edited a number of prestigious newspapers and journals, among them *El Perú Ilustrado*. By 1891, she published two novels, had her play *Hima Súmac* represented at a theater in Lima, and founded her own publishing house. Matto was one of those few writers of her time who managed to support herself with her intellectual activities. Her professional achievements were thus in many respects as outstanding as was the public outrage against her. Such an outburst of public indignation against an intellectual happened in the history of the nineteenth-century Peru only twice. Fifty years prior to the public burnings of Matto's works, Peruvian society was scandalized by writings of another woman of Peruvian descent, Flora Tristán (1803-1844), who, after visiting the aristocratic family of her deceased father, published a book, *Pérégrinations d'une paria* (1838), critical of Peruvian reality. Tristán's book, too, was publicly burned in Lima. According to Francesca Denegri,

A common argument used by Tristán's Peruvian readers to discredit her book was that she had had the impudence to scrutinize and to examine critically the social structures of the world she had witnessed. This was anathema to contemporary paradigms of womanhood. . . . Women writers were expected to be enchanted with and not critical about places abroad. Above all, they should refrain from taking over the masculine quill of critical rational discourse. ("Desde la ventana" 353)

In the fifty years that separate Tristán's and Matto's discourses, gender norms and expectations in Peru had changed little: both intellectuals were defamed and disowned by society for daring to think and act independently. Until the end of the nineteenth century Peruvian women were precluded from participation in official

⁵ *Aves sin nido*, Matto's best-known novel, was first published in 1889 in two locations simultaneously, Lima and Buenos Aires, and quickly became one of the first best-sellers in Peruvian literary history. In 1904, the first English translation of the novel appeared and in 1908, an edition in Spain (Peluffo 1-2). Critical of government officials and abusive priests, openly against mandatory celibacy, and outspoken against the oppression of indigenous people in rural communities, *Aves sin nido* is widely considered the first *indigenista* novel. For its sharp criticism, the novel was prohibited by the church.

politico-juridical discourses and also suffered persecution for “imagining” an alternative national organization in their fiction and autobiographies.

Ana Peluffo maintains that Matto’s male contemporaries – Ricardo Palma, Narciso Aréstegui, and Manuel González Prada – critiqued Peruvian reality in terms similar to Matto’s but did not suffer sanctions for their convictions (23). Matto’s gender played a crucial role in the reception of *Aves sin nido* and in her eventual expatriation. For not being a “feminine” writer, she became stigmatized as an unpatriotic and, hence, unacceptable individual by her opponents. By forcing her to abandon Peru, the government of Nicolás de Piérola literally made her stateless and nation-less. Tellingly, she was also expelled against her will and convictions from another imagined community which marked each individual with an unmistakable sign of spiritual belonging (or lack thereof), the Catholic Church.⁶

Viaje de recreo illuminates Matto’s ambivalent position vis-à-vis Peru and sheds light on her strategies in legitimizing her participation in the nationalist discourse. Although she was transformed into a *persona non grata* for the rest of her life, she never accepted this expulsion. On her European journey, she visited the publishers of *Aves sin nido* and took pride in the admiration expressed to her by the readers of the book and intellectuals she befriended. The international success of the novel recorded in *Viaje* reverses the judgments of Matto’s Peruvian opponents and consecrates her as a competent critic of Peruvian reality. In Peru, the church and the government resorted to excommunication and exile to penalize her socially unbecoming ideas and to prevent other women from assuming public critical stance against authorities. Indeed, the destruction of Matto’s printing house, burning in the streets of her book and the newspaper she directed, severe critique in the press, and her forced exile were all parts of a spectacle which eloquently played out in public the consequences of the intellectual independence of a woman in Peru. In contrast to this rejection, in *Viaje* she registers the praise she receives from the people who have read *Aves sin nido* and informs her readers of Europeans’ interest in her work by describing her visits to British and Spanish publishers of the novel. By demonstrating Europeans’ positive evaluation of the book, Matto effectively questions the adverse judgments of her Peruvian opponents. An implication of the publication of *Aves sin nido* in Europe is that Matto is accepted as a legitimate critic of Peruvian society. The fact that it is a woman who censures priests and other authorities does not scandalize her European publishers and readers.⁷ Far away from Peru, Matto legitimizes her entitlement for the participation in the construction of her nation more successfully than when she was physically present there.

Claiming Home and Matto's Multiple Identities

Notwithstanding her effort at legitimizing her contributions to Peruvian nationalist discourse, in *Viaje*, Matto does not have a fixed national identity. She positions herself as both a Peruvian and an Argentinean, invoking with fondness the two countries. While Peru is called “mi querida patria” (130) and “aquella patria amada” (144), Argentina figures in the text as “la patria de nuestras afecciones” (57)

6 Although Matto critiqued corrupted priests in *Aves sin nido*, she consistently upheld Catholic moral values in her work, including *Viaje de recreo*.

7 It could be that Europeans benevolently accepted Matto’s novel because her representation of Peru to a degree conformed to Europeans’ own representations of this country: morally corrupt priests, mismanagement and backwardness of the interior, etc. Of course, in *Aves sin nido* there is a marked difference between modern and progressive Lima and the “barbarous” interior. Europeans, however, tended to homogenize all of Spanish America – metropolitan and rural – as underdeveloped (Pratt 149-50).

and “la segunda patria de mi corazón” (255). The numeral “second” is one of several instances which foreground Matto's general un-decidedness in respect to the referents of the term *patria* in the text. Indeed, sometimes Matto mentions that Peru and Argentina are equally dear to her while on other occasions, *patria* refers to one of the two countries, although the context does not explain whether she thinks about Peru or Argentina, as is the case in the following episode on her tour of London: “¡José duerme el sueño dulce de los buenos, y yo, viuda, peregrina, lejos de mi patria, llevo a la suya conservando el nombre que uní al mío, y al cual he querido rodear de todos los trofeos que en el mundo de las letras conquistase como trabajadora sin descanso!..” (88). The lack of additional information creates confusion concerning which of the two countries Matto has in mind on this occasion.⁸

“Peregrina” in the aforementioned quote takes Matto’s split identification with Peru and Argentina to a new level by alluding to her state of national non-belonging. According to Denegri, “In Spanish the noun *peregrinación* has a strong religious connotation: it is a journey made to a shrine, usually on foot, as an act of devotion. The subject of the journey, the *peregrina/o* is always an outsider, a stranger in the societies she or he encounters, a temporary presence passing through” (“Desde la ventana” 349). In view of Matto’s professed dedication to the memory of her husband and her fascination with London as the “capital del orbe civilizado,” her coming to London could be interpreted as reaching a place of devotion (142). Indeed, the British capital not only holds a special personal meaning for Matto but also elicits her admiration as a distinctly modern city. At the same time, Matto’s struggle with English language and her disappointment at the under-representation of Peruvian Incaic heritage in British museums position her, in the words of Denegri, as an outsider and a stranger in London. As an exile from Peru, however, Matto, is “an outsider” and “a stranger” everywhere; her belonging to the places of her residence is temporary while her non-belonging to her nation is permanent. She comes to Europe from Argentina where she chose to live only because of the impossibility of returning to Peru. Symptomatically, at the end of her European tour, Matto, overcome by feelings of gratitude to her Spanish hostesses, speculates that “el universo es la patria del hombre” because of the “propensión de enraizar que tiene el corazón humano dondequiera que siente clima de afectos sinceros” (319). Rejected by her nation, she sometimes feels she has two fatherlands, while on other occasions she speculates that she belongs nowhere or everywhere, which virtually amounts to the same thing: since there is no home, any place could become one.⁹

In addition to identifying with Peru and Argentina, Matto also describes herself as “americana,” further stretching her (national) belonging. Indeed, she often informs her new acquaintances and readers that she comes from and will return to “América.”¹⁰ Thus, on the pages of *Viaje*, she figures alternatively and simultaneously as a Peruvian, Argentinean, and Spanish American intellectual. This representativeness, brought into focus by her travels, expands her authority and

8 In her narrative, Matto uses “pais” and “patria” interchangeably. I follow Matto's usage of these terms.

9 In “Salman Rushdie’s Shame: Postmodern Migrancy and the Representation of Women,” Aijaz Ahmad critiques post-modernist devaluation of belonging by positing instead “an excess of belonging” as a defining characteristic of a post-modern subject. According to Ahmad, “not only does the writer have all cultures available to him or her as resource, for consumption, but he or she actually belongs in all of them, by virtue of belonging properly in none” (130). While Ahmad registers a conscious rejection of the “myth of origins” on the part of late twentieth-century third-world writers and theorists (129), in the case of Matto, I observe a desire and a search for belonging made impossible by social gender-biased arrangements of the time.

10 In *Viaje*, Matto uses the terms “América,” “Sud América,” and “la América del Sur” to refer to American countries south of the U.S. border. Depending on the context of the discussion, I use “Spanish America” to refer to the Spanish American republics and “Latin America” to designate the entire region.

legitimizes her activities. For instance, she is expected to share with Europeans her knowledge of Spanish America through lectures, essays, and books, which she does: in Paris, she is invited to give a speech on America at the Sorbonne; in Rome, she publishes lectures on Argentina, Perú, and Bolivia in the journal *La Vita*; in Madrid, she gives talks on Peru and Argentina at the Atheneum and the Ibero-American Union. Importantly, by identifying herself as “americana,” Matto implicitly represents all Spanish America to Europeans. In *Viaje*, however, by “América” and “América del Sur” she means primarily Peru and Argentina. In Matto's treatment of “América del Sur” regional diversity and conflicts, as well as most countries themselves, largely disappear. Her reduction of Spanish America to the discussion of her two *patrias* points to the fact that she knew them best and also believed in their greater potential which ironically diminishes the value of the region's other republics.¹¹ The term “americana” in this context suggests a homogenizing identity with unstable referents which hides a complex geo-political situation of the continent at the turn of the century.

Matto's multiple identifications – with Peru, Argentina, and Spanish America at large – destabilize her national belonging, rendering it a shifting signifier. As a woman, she did not have political rights of citizenship in any country, although she still was a subject of political sanctions. In her travels, Matto reaffirmed her national belonging but also positioned herself above national definitions which further complicated her position in respect to Peru. Her national belonging was strengthened in that Matto successfully asserted her entitlement to speak on her nation and to represent it to Europeans through her books, essays, lectures, and in person. However, since the recognition of the authority of her voice came from outside Peru, it was deeply contradictory. Matto defined herself in *Viaje* not only in terms of her nation, but also by her international activities and achievements. Her position in the nation thus remained contradictory but on a new level, complicated by her international experiences.

(Non)Belonging in the West: Peru, Argentina, and European Modernity

In the nineteenth century, especially in its second half, modernity manifested itself similarly across the West, with considerable overlaps in experiences between the Americas and Europe. In deeply stratified societies like those of France, Great Britain, Spain, the Spanish American republics, and the United States, liberal political models were inconsistent, generating numerous social conflicts throughout the century. In these countries, big urban centers underwent drastic economic and social transformations, creating a stark contrast with still largely traditional rural communities. Towards the end of the century, the economies of Uruguay, Venezuela, and Chile became much stronger than the economy of their former colonial center, Spain, while by 1913 Argentina managed to have a larger per capita income than most European countries, including France, Germany, and the Netherlands (Mejías-López 7-8).

¹¹ Matto believed in a greater potential of Argentina and Peru in comparison with other Spanish American Republics. Peru, according to her, had been the richest Spanish colony (314-15), while Argentina is “la gran nación” (31), “la primera en la América del Sur, la única por la grandiosidad que el porvenir le depara con el esfuerzo combinado de nacionales y extranjeros” (8). The only other Latin American countries cursorily mentioned in *Viaje* are Brazil, Bolivia, and Chile.

Although Spanish American experience of modernity was in many ways similar to that of other parts of the West, North Atlantic discourse positioned all Hispanic countries on the margins of modernity. Latin America was envisioned as fundamentally different from modern Europe. If in the first quarter of the century Alexander von Humboldt popularized the vision of the continent in terms of its sublime and pristine nature, in the aftermath of the independence of Spanish American republics the so-called “scouts for European capital” – agricultural, industrial, and business professionals assessing market and investment potential – increasingly represented the continent as neglected, backward, and thus unmodern (Pratt 120, 149-50).

While all Spanish American travelers were positioned ambiguously in Northern Europe, the situation of Matto was even more complex because her tenuous position abroad as an individual of Hispanic origins was superimposed on her marginal status as woman. Symbolically, she found herself on the periphery of both her nation and the countries she visited. Although she achieved intellectual recognition on her European tour, she also experienced alienation. Educated on European cultural models, in *Viaje* Matto recognizes the places she has read about in her youth, demonstrating that European architectural wonders are not mere curiosities for her but rather form part of her cultural heritage. This cultural and intellectual identification with Europe, however, is undermined by what she considers Europeans’ ignorance of Spanish America. As she makes clear in her narrative, the peoples of the places she visits often do not “recognize” her as a modern fellow westerner, thus foregrounding Spanish America’s symbolic position on the margins of modernity in western imaginary.¹²

In *Viaje* Matto amply demonstrates her profound knowledge of European culture representing it as part of her own cultural heritage with whose values and icons she intimately identifies. Her European journey resembles a pilgrimage to her cultural origins. Not surprisingly, at the crater of Mount Vesuvius Matto feels she has fulfilled “el deseo de toda mi vida” (201), while key figures of the British Renaissance, Enlightenment, and Romanticism are invoked by her as like-minded friends:

Instalada en mi habitación [en un hotel de Londres], me asomo a los balcones . . . y saludo a los grandes poetas, Shakespeare, Milton y Byron, a los notables historiadores Giben, Macaulay y Robertson, a los pintores Landsser y Lawrence, a los hombres de ciencia Newton y Darwin, a los viajeros Ross y Livingstone, a los marinos Drake y Nelson, conocidos a través de sus obras y compañeros de nuestras veladas de invierno. (90).

Matto’s marriage to an Englishman, her thorough knowledge of and identification with European intellectual thought and culture position her as an insider in Europe: rather than a mere tourist, she is an informed participant in European “civilization.”¹³

12 While Matto distinguishes between European nations and comments on the unequal distribution of power between northern and southern European countries, the notion of “Europe” as a symbolic unified space which provided Spanish America with cultural antecedents is equally prominent in *Viaje*. As in the case of Spanish Americans, Matto often homogenizes Europeans, especially when she articulates her own position as an insider/outsider vis-à-vis them. Obviously, neither all European countries nor all territories within individual states were equally “modern” in the nineteenth century. However, for the purposes of this article I use “Europe” the way Matto uses it.

13 In addition to the names of the Englishmen mentioned in the quote, Matto communicates to her readers her knowledge of works by Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, Voltaire, François-René de Chateaubriand, Alphonse de Lamartine, Jules Michelet, Victor Hugo, Stéphane Mallarmé, Alexandre Dumas, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Giuseppe Verdi, Jacint Verdaguer, and others.

However, as much as Matto's knowledge of European intellectual and cultural traditions makes her an insider in the places she visits, what she perceives as Europeans' ignorance of Spanish America creates an opposing dynamic. For instance, on her tours of the South Kensington Museum and the Natural History Museum in London, she deplors the lack of cultural objects and specimens from America (132, 137). She presents these omissions as oversights of the British who do not seem particularly interested in acknowledging Spanish American richness, thus undermining it insofar as museums purport to offer an objective representation of the world's natural and cultural abundance. On other occasions, she complains about stereotyping of Spanish Americans by Europeans.¹⁴ Once she states that, easily recognized, Spanish American travelers look like provincials in Europe: "El americano en Europa hace el mismo efecto que los provincianos en la capital. Se les conoce desde lejos, antes que suelten palabra que los denuncie por el acento, nueva forma de denunciar al viajero" (60). It is Matto herself who makes this unflattering comparison which points to what Jesús Torrecilla calls the "conciencia de marginalidad," a certain internalization of disdainful European attitude toward her (31). According to Torrecilla, nations that perceive themselves under-appreciated internationally exhibit a contradictory attitude toward both their own culture (hating it for its supposed backwardness and defending its superior originality) and that of the rival nation (resisting its influence and craving it) (33). Matto's complaints about Europeans' ignorance of Spanish America and her unflattering remarks about Spanish Americans in Europe reflect her ambiguous positionality in her travels.

Matto's complex position on her European tour also reveals itself linguistically. Without a reliable means of self-expression, she literally becomes an unknown/unknowable and unrecognized/unrecognizable "other" for the people around her. Indeed, although Matto is enchanted with Italian, strives to improve her English, and often uses foreign words and expressions to communicate her ideas, her inability to speak the languages of the countries she visits produces a sense of anxiety, frustration, and alienation in her, as in the following quote on her arrival to France: "La estación d'Orsay es en estos momentos un hormigueo humano, donde voy a mezclarme, confundida, azorada, comenzando la enorme lucha con el idioma extranjero" (55). In this quote, language, more than any other aspect of a new reality which she tries to grasp, presents itself as an arduous "battle" to her. Her inability to communicate effectively in foreign languages often makes her feel alone in Europe: "siento el vacío de mi hermano, de mis amigos, la comunicabilidad es necesidad en mí, quiero compartir mis ideas y sólo encuentro al guía" (175).¹⁵ Her joy at being able to see what she many times has read about is overshadowed by her inability to share freely her impressions neither with the people around her nor with friends and family members in Peru and Argentina, creating a sense of isolation and internal vacuum in her.

14 Consider the following observation: "En Roma, en París y en Madrid, las mujeres fuman al igual que los hombres. He cenado en algunas casas aristócratas, y las mujeres se quedan a la mesa para fumar. Hoy hemos estado de admiradoras a admiradas. Cuando estaba yo asombrada de ver tanta boca linda chupeteando un cigarro, me brindan otro; digo que no fumo, que en América no acostumbramos, y se quedan admiradas. 'En América las mujeres no fuman?..' 'Pues atrasadas estamos', agregó para mi coleteo" (Matto 216).

15 Matto's loneliness cannot be explained by a lack of company, however. She admits in *Viaje* that she carries letters of recommendation which allow her to easily access dignitaries and the Spanish and Italian courts; Argentinean and Peruvian embassies offer her help; numerous friends and new acquaintances often accompany her and arrange lodging and other services; at other times, guides and *cicerones* help her navigate to cultural attractions. Numerous references to "we" on the pages of Matto's narrative corroborate the fact that most of the time she was surrounded by company.

Matto's identification with and feeling foreign in Europe is also foregrounded in her self-definition by a famous line borrowed from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

Me reconcentro y me examino. Mis pasiones son fuertes y definidas; arrancan de mi educación primaria bajo la sentencia del trágico *to be or not to be*. Detesto el agua tibia y los temperamentos indecisos; por eso amo y odio con llaneza y ardor, y lo que emprendo llega a la cima. Esta jira europea misma que estoy realizando, sola, cumplidos ya los cincuenta años de existencia, es manifestación comprobatoria del carácter cimentado en la sentencia shakesperiana, *ser o no ser*. Si no nací en Londres, nací en el Cuzco, y me siento llena de orgullo legítimo. ¿Por qué no confesarlo? (140-41)

The invocation of an emblematic English playwright whose “to be or not to be,” in Matto’s representation, reveals her own essence is juxtaposed to her professed pride of having been born in Cuzco. The line “manifestación comprobatoria del carácter cimentado en la sentencia shakesperiana, *ser o no ser*” suggests that Shakespeare’s verse not merely helps Matto explain her disposition, but shapes her character in the first place by teaching her to struggle for her ideals and to achieve her goals. Her pride at being *cuzqueña*, then, is also mediated by the mental framework (Shakespeare’s “to be or not to be”) through which she projects her self-image in the aforementioned passage. Although she implies that the ancient Peruvian capital is not worse than London, her reliance on a thought of an English intellectual for the formulation of her convictions (regarding her character and pride for having been born in Cuzco) undermines the second conviction (pride at being *cuzqueña*) and works against its symbolic power. The divided allegiance – indebtedness to an English intellectual and pride at being *cuzqueña* – produces a tension in Matto’s self-definition.

This passage also suggests alternative interpretations. By proclaiming her pride in being *cuzqueña*, Matto asserts the “to be” of Peru, which along with other Spanish American countries was largely relegated to the margins or to the “not to be” of European imperialistic discourses. In addition, this episode is an example of Matto’s self-representation in *Viaje*. Ironically, the “to be or not to be” soliloquy in Shakespeare’s play exemplifies Hamlet’s indecisiveness about whether to act or remain passive in the face of the troubles he faces. Matto uses this line to demonstrate the opposite: she has a resolute character; hesitations and in-betweenness are foreign to her. Shakespeare’s play ends ambiguously. Although Hamlet chooses to act at the end (which corresponds to the “to be” of his soliloquy), he dies (thus also fulfilling the “not to be” part). Matto identifies with Hamlet because she, too, might be experiencing an existential crisis. Unlike Hamlet, however, she appropriates his words not to highlight her inner contradictions, but to triumphantly assert the “to be” of the dilemma that nineteenth-century Hispanic upper-middle-class women faced. Defined as immobile, passive objects in need of protection and guidance, women in western societies have been traditionally educated to fit the mold of inaction, deemed the only one appropriate for them. Instead of subscribing to such a “not to be” status, Matto chooses “to be.” Indeed, she does not depict herself as a pleasant, docile woman, but rather defines her feelings as strong and definitive (“amo y odio con llaneza y ardor”), her character as ambitious and decisive (“lo que emprendo llega a la cima”). The proof Matto offers to her readers is her European tour, which she carries out in defiance of her age and gender.

While in the aforementioned passage Matto talks about herself by both creating an opposition between London and Cuzco and emphasizing the importance of English literature for her education, on other occasions she transposes Spanish American images to European scenarios, blurring the distance/difference between these geographical (and imaginary) locations. For example, a funeral procession in Pisa, Italy, interests her because it is similar to “algo de una comarca en las montañas incultas de América” (160). In this episode, Matto sees “América” in Italy. She is and is not in Europe at the moment when she is processing her observations and is “translating” them for her readers. On another occasion, at the crater of Mount Vesuvius, she is overcome by an “ensueño dulcísimo” which makes her feel “que sobre mi frente pasa algo como batir de alas de cóndor” (201). In this ecstatic condition, her existence and impressions are determined by her physical presence at the crater and also by a mystic sensation of feeling the motions of a (Peruvian) condor’s wings on her forehead. Matto’s “feeling” of the Peruvian/Spanish American presence – within herself and in the European landscapes – expands and doubles her experiences in Europe.

Although Matto does not appear to reconcile her split impressions, the Europe she traverses is a space determined for her by the sum total of her Spanish American and European experiences as well as by the writings of her precursors from both sides of the Atlantic. According to Michael De Certeau, topographic names/places can signify beyond those meanings intended by administrators and city-planners; detached from their original meanings, these names/places “become liberated spaces that can be occupied” (104-105). Users – such as walkers and writers – “occupy” topographic names/places differently, creating traces which become consubstantial with the intended meaning of these topographic locations. This is what happens in the case of Matto. Indeed, the places she visits bring to her mind her European predecessors: Mary Antoinette’s bust in the Parisian Pantheon makes her remember Lamartine’s *Histoire des Girondins* (82), while the Alps on the way to Italy remind her of Michelet’s descriptions in *La Montagne* (220-21). On her tour, Matto recognizes both the places described by various European authors and the authors themselves who in her perception are inseparable from the places she visits. She follows in their footsteps literally and metaphorically: if French, British, Italian, and German writers described European attractions in the past, now it is she who visits these places, writes about them, and inscribes herself in them, so that later others might also “recognize” her – as she “recognizes” European writers and travelers – in the places she describes. As much as Matto belongs to Europe, Europe also belongs to Matto: since her youth, she has been influenced by European cultural and intellectual traditions; on her tour, she imprints her presence on the places she visits through her writing.

Significantly, the Europe which Matto visits has been mediated for her not only by European authors, but also by those Spanish Americans who lived in or visited Europe. In Paris, for instance, Matto is conscious of the “traces” of Spanish American students: “Cada uno de estos tenduchos con librería vieja, con trapería y cachivaches, me parece que guardará historias de estudiantes americanos, todas tristes, pero convertidas en narraciones chistosas por sus mismos protagonistas” (307). The Europe Matto engages with, then, is a space constructed by both Europeans and Spanish Americans. It is a place of encounter, a dialogic multi-faceted space which points to a connection between various geographic locations and their inhabitants. Through her travel narrative Matto, too, actively intervenes in the construction of this space, pointing to the relevance of Spanish America for its definition and representation.

Thus, the identification with Europe stems from Matto’s education, previous readings, class, and her marriage to a British citizen. Her non-belonging, however,

reveals itself in a series of realities which she experiences during her physical presence on this continent, such as Europeans' "ignorance" of Spanish America and her inability to speak other languages than Spanish. In spite of her brilliant versatility in European intellectual and cultural thought, on her journey Matto learns – for the first time? – that as a Spanish American, she is an unknown "other" for Europeans and is limited in her direct interactions with the people around her. Her identification with Europe is thus unilateral: she knows Europe from her readings and wants to learn more through her physical presence on the continent. Spanish America, however, is either misrepresented or unknown to Europeans, in Matto's opinion. Yet, in spite of Europeans' oblivion of Spanish America, in *Viaje*, through Matto's mediation, Spanish America is present in Europe. Matto sees and feels Spanish America wherever she goes and in whatever she sees: in cultural events, such as funerals, in her mystic reveries, in modern buildings and services. In addition, the Europe Matto visits and describes for her readers carries traces of both Europeans and Spanish Americans. Her own travel and narrative also become part of the Europe she represents to her readers.

To conclude, this article contributes to the scholarship on Clorinda Matto de Turner by refining our understanding of her rearticulation of her position in society in an international context. By providing Matto with opportunities to position and fashion herself in new ways, international travel strengthened her authority to participate in nationalist discourses and also allowed her to define herself in terms which transcended gender norms of her native land. In addition, her presence on European soil coupled with thorough knowledge of both European and American intellectual developments made it possible for her to rearticulate the relationship between Europe and Spanish America as mutually enriching and dependent, undermining the alienation she faced on her tour as a person from not-so-prestigious part of the world. As Matto defined her position in respect to her nation and western metropolitan "centers," she appropriated diverse identities to assert the legitimacy of her authorial voice, and by doing so, expanded the sphere of her influence in the nation and beyond. In the field of travel literature, this work contributes to the research on nineteenth-century travel from "periphery" to "center" in the West, foregrounding the complexities of self-representation of a marginalized, and yet privileged, Hispanic woman traveler.

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