Hagiographic Bandit Slippages: Gaucho Gil in Music and Prose

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Abstract

This article examines representations of the Argentine folk saint Gauchito Gil in music and prose as Gil veneration spreads from the Argentine littoral to more urban and para-urban spaces. The movement in space and through genres reflects the play between the hegemonic and the vernacular and the closing of the frontier. First, the article considers Gauchito devotion as a subculture and analyses the production and maintenance of that subculture through chamamés. I argue that Orlando Van Bredam's novella, *El retobado: vida, pasión y muerte del Gauchito Gil*, is a textualization of the vernacular devotion practiced by Gil devotees and slips between the novelistic and hagiographic modes. Building from Emilio Willems' suggestion that marginal urban neighborhoods constitute an "anonymous frontier," I then examine the mapping of Gil worship into urban spaces in cumbia villera and stories by Mariana Enríquez. Finally, I address the increasing institutionalization of Gauchito devotion.

Keywords: Gaucho Gil, Vernacular Saints, Banditry, Contemporary Hagiography, Cumbia Villera

Resumen

Este artículo examina representaciones del santo vernáculo argentino Gauchito Gil en música y prosa y el movimiento de su veneración desde el litoral argentino hacia espacios urbanos y periurbanos. Este desplazamiento tanto en el espacio como en los géneros refleja la interacción entre lo hegemónico y lo vernáculo, así como el cierre de la frontera. El artículo considera el culto del Gauchito como una subcultura y analiza la producción y preservación de dicha subcultura a través de chamamé. Sostenemos que la novela corta *El retobado: vida, pasión y muerte del Gauchito Gil* de Orlando Van Bredam es una textualización de la devoción vernácula practicada por los devotos al culto del Gauchito, y se desliza entre los modos novelescos y hagiográficos. Partiendo del planteamiento de Emilio Willems de que los barrios marginales urbanos son una "frontera anónima," xaminamos cómo el culto de Gil se incorpora en el espacio urbano en la cumbia villera y en los cuentos de Mariana Enríquez. Finalmente, abordamos la institucionalización del culto del Gauchito.

Palabras Claves: Gaucho Gil, Santos Populares, Bandidaje, Hagiografía Contemporánea, Cumbia Villera

Gaucho Gil, commonly known as "el Gauchito," is a gaucho folk saint—one of many syncretic vernacular saints venerated throughout Latin America—whose cult originates in the Argentine littoral. Worship of Gaucho Gil has spread from the location of his shrine in Mercedes, Corrientes, across Argentina and even into neighboring countries (Viera Martins 21). Through a process of eclectic accumulation, the Gauchito—a victim of a nation-defining civil war—has become an antihegemonic saint, through whom the desires of the subaltern can be expressed. In this article I examine the contemporary figure of Gaucho Gil, and the questions of rebellion, orthodoxy, and tradition around his veneration through various musical and literary iterations, probing the boundaries between genres. First, I examine cultural production about the Gaucho on the rural frontier in the form of chamamé (a polka-like folk music popular in the littoral, typically played on guitar, accordion, bandoneon, double bass, and accordion) and the novella *El retobado: vida pasión y muerte del Gaucho Gil* (2011) by Orlando Van Bredam, which is typically catalogued and marketed as a novella but, in its title, claims to be a saint's life narrative. In the second half of the article, working from Emilio Willems' suggestion that marginal urban neighborhoods constitute "anonymous frontiers," I examine the frontier nature of Gaucho Gil's devotion in urban spaces. First, through the cumbia villera song "Mi Gauchito Gil" by La Piedra Urbana and then through "El chico sucio," the opening story of Mariana Enríquez's *Las cosas que perdimos en el fuego* (2016). Enríquez's story, centered on the urban space of the Constitución barrio of Buenos Aires, will allow us a vision, parallel to La Piedra Urbana's, of how the frontier duality of the Gauchito as saint and bandit can be mapped on urban space. By comparing these texts across the two frontiers—the cattle frontier of Corrientes and the anonymous frontier of Buenos Aires—, I propose that the Gauchito's liminal, frontier existence lends itself to adaptation and adoption across genres, forms, and ideologies.

Moreover, the figure of the Gauchito follows a trajectory from anti-hegemonic to institutional which mirrors the trajectory of the open frontier to the closed frontier.

Gaucho Gil on the Rural Frontier

Born Antonio Mamerto Gil, Guachito Gil was one of many gauchos in the Argentine littoral that were conscripted into the country's civil war between Juan Manuel de Rosa's Federales and the opposing Unitarios. Gil deserted, probably from the ranks of the Unitarios, and became a heroic outlaw figure, with various supernatural abilities attributed to him during and after his lifetime (Graziano 130). These supernatural abilities, including a mind-controlling stare and invincibility, are often seen as the result of his devotion to the syncretic Guaraní folk-saint *San La Muerte*. As Mauro Salvador notes, Gaucho Gil was one of many well-known gaucho bandits of his time, but Gil has become the most notorious (435). The story of his martyrdom sets him apart from his gaucho outlaw peers. As the Catholic journalist Luis Santamaría records, "se cuenta que el 8 de enero de 1878, cuando volvía de la fiesta de otro 'santo popular,' san Baltasar, fue capturado por la policía y desangrado hasta la muerte" (Santamaría). The legend tells that the impatient police officers could not wait to bring Gil to the courts and instead took justice themselves, tying him to a tree just outside of Mercedes and using his own knife to kill him. Just before they kill Gil, the story goes, Gil promises to heal an officer's sick child and when the officer returns to his home, his child is cured. This leads the officer to become a true believer in the Gauchito.

It is notable that Santamaría draws the connection between Saint Balthazar and Gil, both because it further connects Gil to the milieu of folk-saints and because it evokes the racial implications of Saint Balthazar worship. It is the connection with folk-saints that makes his martyrdom so impressive to his followers; as Graziano notes in *Cultures of Devotion*,

> Gil's invincibility was indebted to the San La Muerte amulet inserted under his skin, which protected his body from all harm. Devotees accordingly clarify that Gaucho Gil was not caught by the police; he surrendered. And even then, his life could not be taken until, at his request, the San La Muerte amulet was removed. (117)

This narrative creates a self-affirming network between these folk figures: Gil is powerful because San La Muerte gives him power, San La Muerte's power is proven by Gil's abilities, and Gil's miracle takes place on Saint Balthazar's day, an act that legitimizes Saint Balthazar while making way for Balthazar's celebration to be eclipsed by Gil's. Gaucho Gil, is, in short, a folk-saint bandit, who, being born of a nation-defining Argentine civil war is a popular amalgamation of religious fervor and saintly banditry.

As a gaucho, he inherits the baggage which comes from a literary, material, and visual cultural history stretching from the late-eighteenth century into the twenty-first. In the literary realm this reaches from Hidalgo's early republican "Patriotic Dialogues" to Ascasubi's romantic-epic *Santos Vega, el payador*, Sarmiento's cutting *Facundo*, Del Campo's humorous *Fausto*, through the cultural touchstones of Hernández's *Martín Fierro* cycle, Gerchunoff's *Los gauchos judíos*, and Lugones' and Borges' interpretations of the Martín Fierro mythos to, in this century, Bolaño's "El gaucho insufrible," Cabezón Cámara's *Las aventuras de la China Iron* and Fariña's *El guacho Martín Fierro*. In the visual and material realms, Gil is part of a tradition of etchings, photography and, in the middle of the last century, a series of enormously popular stylized paintings by F. Molina Campos. Filmic and circus representations of the gaucho, often stemming from the epics of *Juan Moreira* and *Martín Fierro* were also instrumental in fomenting the cultural baggage which the gaucho carries into our century. The representations of gauchos have served various functions over the years, including patriotism (e.g., Bartolomé Hidalgo's poetry), protest

(e.g., *La ida*, Echeverría's "El matadero"), didactic representations (e.g., *La vuelta*, Abdón Arózteguy's *Julian Giménez*,), and of course, entertainment (Acree 77–79). The Gauchito texts that we examine in this article each present a constellation of these functions in varying degrees. The chamamés I will examine tend towards being didactic whereas the cumbia tends towards protest. Mariana Enríquez's short story falls on the critique side of the patriotism-protest continuum and the entertainment side of the didactic-entertainment axis. Due to the attempt to be both saint's life and novel, and to its tone of folkloric collection, Van Bredam's novella falls in the center of the patriotism-protest/didactic-entertainment coordinate plane.

Despite Argentines being comparatively less inclined to worship non-official saints (Salvador 436), the worship of Gil is generally acceptable to the church and lay Catholics because it is associated with a cross (Graziano 119). It is not a surprise, as Pope Francis is an Argentine, that the Holy See has opined on Gil worship. The bishop of Goya, Corrientes, monsignor Adolfo Canecín, reports a conversation with the pope: "el Papa me recordó que cuando él era cardenal ya existía una novena para rezar por los difuntos y en honor a este gaucho correntino [. . .] me pidió que la reeditáramos y la pusiéramos a disposición de los fieles para que la pudieran rezar [enfocándose] en la cruz de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y no en el difunto" (Pittaro). For the Vatican, the Gauchito question has a simple resolution; the church needs to update their prayers to channel the worship in line with official doctrine. While these are perfectly logical steps to be suggested by the pope, they ignore the anti-hegemonic subculture that has arisen around Gil. José Renato Viera Martins emphasizes that Gil veneration is based on a disdain for the elites; "representa una reapropiación simbólica del modo de vida de aquellos 'mozos vagos y mal entretenidos.' Una afirmación de la imagen del gaucho, depurada de los aspectos desacreditadores atribuidos por las élites al pueblo argentino" (231). Worshipping Gil, then, is a way of affirming the right to live like a gaucho, like

a frontiersman, a cattle rustler, a man who finds his freedom deserting military service.

The tension with the hegemonic church is an important factor in the formation of the subculture that revolves around the Gauchito. In *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, Dick Hebdige explores the relationship between hegemony, ideology, and signs. For Hebdige, "style in subculture is [. . .] pregnant with significance. Its transformations go 'against nature', interrupting the process of 'normalization'" (18). That is to say that subcultures distance themselves from the hegemony or prevailing ideology by subverting, appropriating, and reworking the signs of the prevailing culture or of other cultures. Hebdige illustrates this by presenting the syncretism between West Indian culture and the white working-class urban subculture and then by exploring the various subcultures of postwar Britain. Hebdige argues that "[subcultures] display their own codes (e.g., the punk's ripped T-shirt) or at least demonstrate that the codes are theirs to be used and abused" (102) and thereby "go against the grain of a mainstream culture whose principal defining characteristic, according to Barthes, is a tendency to masquerade as nature" (102). For Hebdige, subcultures are defined relationally with the dominant culture and each other, and they actively use "style" to mark their differences and similarities.

In *A History of the Church in Latin America*, Enrique Dussel argues that Latin American religion is not necessarily the result of mixing Indigenous religions and Hispanic Catholicism, nor is it necessarily the result of indigenous peoples superficially converting to Christianity, but rather the result of a process he calls "eclectic accumulation" wherein features of Indigenous religion are aggregated on to Catholicism (68). He attributes folk saints to this type of accumulated religion and argues (from his theological standpoint) that folk Catholicism "is a temporary, supplementary manifestation by a people who long for the completion of evangelization. This popular form of faith can hardly

be said to be unvarnished paganism. No, it more rightly can be considered the manifestation of an awareness of conscience not yet entirely Christian" (71). When put into relief with Gil worship, we can see that Dussel's framework for understanding folk Catholicism robs the "folk" of their agency. Dussel's claim that the folk saint is temporary and supplementary doesn't track with the reality of the growth and consistency of Gaucho worship. However, we can apply the idea of eclectic accumulation on a macro scale, Gil acting within a network of Correntino and global supernatural figures which runs the gamut from the saints of orthodox Catholicism to the Pombero.

Cultural accumulation in the cult of Gaucho Gil takes various forms, but it is flexible enough that it can become a subcultural expression opposed to the hegemonic faith. Just like the movement of Rastafarian ideas, style, and rhythms to the various subcultures that Hebdige describes, the founding myth of Gaucho Gil worship involves the incorporation of Indigenous figures into an expression that is like but also opposed to the hegemonic expression of faith. Through his connections to San La Muerte, Gaucho Gil accumulates Indigenous expressions onto the Catholic mold. The cross is another important signifier that is both "used and abused" (borrowing Hebdige's phrasing) in Gil worship. Gil's association with the cross is one of the reasons that the mainstream catholic church has largely tolerated the phenomenon. However, Graziano offers a reading of the shrine at Mercedes that complicates the use of the cross: "Gil stands in front of the cross—or more accurately, is attached to it at his back—with his head proudly uplifted rather than bowed in agony like that of the crucified Christ" (119-20). Graziano goes on to say that in some sense Gil's Christlike attributes make him into a sort of "second Christ, a regional Christ" (121). The Gauchito, layering connections and connotations with Saint Balthazar, San La Muerte, and the localized Christological echoes that Graziano identifies, is eclectic accumulation. The cross in Mercedes that initiated the cult is not unique on the Guaraní frontier. As Paraguayan theologian and

poet Mariano Celso Pedrozo notes, deaths on public roads in the region are commemorated with crosses, which depending on the life led by the deceased can be holy or cursed places (62). In becoming the Gauchito, the figure of Antonio Gil has accumulated an eclectic mix of Christian, Indigenous and folk "mediations" and "comprehensions" or "vehicles" (Dussel 71).

Gil's eclectic accumulation does not limit itself to religious vehicles, but also accumulates political elements. The visual depiction of Gil in shrines and altars across Argentina also uses sartorial signifiers to make a political statement. The red and blue color scheme of Gil's image represents a conciliation between the Federales (red) and Unitarios (blue), the two sides of the civil war that Antonio Gil was conscripted into. Graziano makes note that Antonio Gil was probably forced to fight for the Unitarios before his desertion and that the blue shirt that he wears represents a uniform: "His was blue by recruitment but had a red heart" (130). Today, red is the color most associated with Gil; the roadside shrines, crosses and the pilgrim's clothing all are red—which recalls the red association with both the Federales and San Balthazar—marking them as part of the subculture.

The formation of the subculture in the cult of Gauchito Gil is geographical in nature as the worship converges on roadsides and largely takes place in the pilgrimage to his shrine in Mercedes. In 2019 more than 200,000 pilgrims descended on the shrine for the January 8th feast day ("Te contamos"). These pilgrims share a devotion to the Gauchito and are frequently traveling to the shrine as compensation for some favor performed by the folk-saint. The pilgrims often dress as gauchos on their pilgrimage and many local devotees ride horses to the shrine on and leading up to the feast day. This shared gaucho style, and the use of red in the form of bandanas, flags, and t-shirts, constitute aesthetics around which a subcultural identity can be formed. The pilgrimage site is a clearly defined geographical space of cultural expression in the cult of the Gauchito. As *El Tribuno de Salta* records, "muchos de los devotos como

agradecimiento prometen ir a bailar chamamé o compartir un asado y un vino frente a su tumba" ("Te contamos"). These performative and sharing-based acts of devotion bring the community together through the mutual expression of identity. The asado and the chamamé express the devotees' connection to the gaucho past. These tribe-building activities are based around physical sites in geographical space associated with the end of Antonio Gil's life.

Worship by CD-R

In *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, Jacques Attali frames music within René Girard's understanding of ritual sacrifice as "channeler of and substitute for the general violence" (26). Noise, because it disturbs, is a type of violence. Music, in turn, is an organization of noise and thereby a simulacrum of sacrifice. Music presents dissonance and then restores harmony in a way that pleases the listener. This pleasure in harmony is like "the essential function of ritual sacrifice in all religious processes: reconciling people with social order" (30). The idea of music as ritual sacrifice becomes complicated as we look at it in the context of Gaucho Gil veneration. The production of the music itself is a sacrifice in honor of the gaucho. Enrique Flores documents, "en esa feria anual, convertida en una especie de mercado y en espacio festivo—asados, música, *bailantas*—, de intercambio de 'dones' y ofrenda de *exvotos* por parte de los 'promeseros' del Gauchito Gil, es posible encontrar, año tras año, las canciones ofrecidas al santo, grabados en discos piratas" (263–64). These songs are created as ex-votos, and they become goods in the popular market that springs up around the pilgrimages site. Their status as ex-voto blurs the line between music as ritual sacrifice and music as actual sacrifice.

The fact that this music is not only performed live in the festive economy of the pilgrimage site but is also available on CD-R implies a stockpileability and portability of the music. Canclini situates the recording and marketing of folk music, and its adaptation into new electronic forms, as part of a

larger market force that incorporates the folkloric into "commercial circuits" (154). For Canclini, this is a sign that the market isn't just homogenizing and eliminating the local, but "concern[s] itself with the sectors that resist uniform consumption" (154). Thus, the CD-R chamamés, like Gil himself, offer a portable site of resistance to uniform culture. Attali sees twentieth-century music as being driven by the stockpiling made possible by recording technology. For Attali, music is no longer to be enjoyed in the time and place of its "labor," but rather as "consumption of replications." The music industry can no longer sell only spectacle but must also sell "stockpileable sign production" (88). Taking Canclini and Attali together, we can see that the local and the folkloric can and are able to survive and be consumed in the technological media market, thus facilitating the maintenance of subculture. The CD-R becomes an artifact of worship that can be carried home from the pilgrimage site—like medieval pilgrimage badges—but with the technological ability to reproduce the musical sacrifice.

In *Staging Frontiers*, William Acree shows that the legacy of *criollo* performance has been a defining part of the market of cultural goods since the introduction of reproducible and stockpileable music in Argentina (203–04). This cultural definition continues at the Gil sites as part of an informal market. The compiling of chamamés partakes in an unofficial secondary music industry made possible by the availability of cheap CD-R discs and easy access to ripping and burning technologies since the end of the twentieth century. In the last decade artists have been able to bypass physical media and upload their music onto streaming services, which we might consider as non-tangible stockpile; however, in the days before streaming, the compilation of chamamés onto pirated discs was nothing short of a bootlegged trove of hagiographic and venerative materials which, by being both holy and pirated, replicate the tenuous relations between vernacular saint and bandit and between people and institution. This tension between tradition and the power

of the hegemonic Church sets the stage for a reading of the lyrical and musical expressions of these chamamés and Piedra Urbana's cumbia.

Like Gauchito Gil, Chamamé's popularity is marked by the civil war between the Federales and the Unitarios (Monjeau 38). The chamamés about Gaucho Gil tend to either take the form of a musical hagiography or describe the worship of Gil itself. In either case, the songs tend to emphasize the importance of Corrientes, Mercedes, and chamamé in the worship of Gil. For example, "Al Gaucho Gil" by Coco Díaz, which tells the story of the inspiration and creation of the shrine at Mercedes, emphasizes the violent beginnings of the Gil worship, making the red associated with Gil into a metaphor for the bloody beginnings of the cult:

> Y en un paraje cercano
> a la ciudad de Mercedes,
> como gran mancha de sangre,
> todo rojo embanderado,
> se venera a Antonio Gil,
> allí donde fue inmolado. ("Al Gaucho Gil" in Flores 22–27)

Graziano's claim that Gil becomes a regional Christ is reflected in Coco Díaz's chamamé. He is like "un Cristo del Payubre [sic]" ("Al Gaucho Gil" in Flores 40). The last verse of "Promesero de Gaucho Gil" by Los Hermanos Rivero offers an example of how the songs see the chamamé as worship. This song is a first-person narration of a *promesero*, who travels to Mercedes on January 8th "con emoción y con fe", where "musiqueros" play "dulces melodías" of chamamé ("Promesero de Gaucho Gil" in Flores 17–21). These lyrics self-referentially justify the existence of the song. It is a chamamé about worshipping the Gauchito in which the "dulces melodías" of chamamé are presented as essential to Gauchito worship.

Orlando Van Bredam's *El retobado*

While littoral chamamé puts Gauchito Gil into a ritual economy of stockpileable and live music, Orlando Van Bredam's 2011 novella, *El retobado: vida, pasión y muerte del Gauchito Gil*, seeks to organize and rationalize the oral and performative practices of Gil devotion into a textual, hagiographic whole. The novella participates in a process similar to the appropriation of the voice of the gaucho that was observed by Ludmer (18); however, instead of taking the one voice of a Martín Fierro or a Santos Vega, Van Bredam seeks to reconcile the various Correntino voices of Gil believers with an imagined interior life of the folk saint. The novella consists of 28 short vignettes of the Gauchito's life as remembered by Gil as he hangs upside-down awaiting his execution. This novella sometimes cites and sometimes refutes the attributes and feats attributed to Gil by the folkloric passive-voice evoked by the Spanish "dicen," and cites the descendants of the novel's secondary characters, who act as informants. It is my contention that this short, sometimes ribald text, blurs the lines between historical fiction, folkloric collection and saints' life genres in a way that mimics the chamamé tradition.

Robin Ann Rice argues that 17th-Century Jesuits in New Spain were able to circumvent prohibitions on novel publishing in the Americas by writing particularly novelistic hagiographies, which followed the Ciceronian maxim "docere, delectare, et movere" in order to "entretener al pueblo novohispano" (3). She considers the Saints lives to be the "primeras manifestaciones de prosa imaginativa en América" which incorporate the language of chronical, novel and epic (Rice 12). *El retobado's* full title, *El retobado: vida, pasión y muerte del Gauchito Gil* is indicative of a 21st-century reversal of the 17th-Century imaginative hagiographies that Rice identifies. The blurb on the back of the book calls it an "singular nouvelle" and the categorizations on the copyright page are "1. Narrativa Argentina. 2. Novela Histórica." These categorizations place the book squarely in the domain of the novel or novella; however,

the subtitle "vida, pasión y muerte" clearly evokes the hagiographic mode. Where the Jesuits were writing saints lives that emulated the forbidden fruit of popular fiction, Van Bredam writes a novella that crosses the same border, but in the opposite direction.

In 2004, David Lagmanovich identified Orlando Van Bredam as an Argentine sudden fiction writer whose work deserved more attention. For Lagmanovich, Van Bredam's' work is colored by his living and working in the town of El Colorado, Formosa, a "tierra difícil, mundo áspero donde la cultura provinciana de raíz hispánica coexiste con las aportaciones de una variada inmigración europea y también con la cercanía de una población indígena" (4). Lagmanovich later clarifies that even though Van Bredam writes from the provincial periphery, "No hay nada de lugareño ni de 'color local' en la escritura de este creador" (4). Lagmanovich made his observations about the international style, lack of costumbrismo, and anthropological gaze of Van Bredam's' 2004 corpus of literary production that did not yet include *El retobado*.

A comparison with Eduardo Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira* (1879-1880) might help rectify Lagmanovich's observations about Van Bredam's simultaneously international and provincial style with *El retobado*. Gutiérrez's *Juan Moreira*, a novel originally published serially, which follows the titular gaucho as the local assistant justice of the peace takes the side of a pulpero who cheated Moreira. The lustful justice then takes Moreira's wife and converts Moreira into a *gaucho malo*. Moreira briefly escapes to Indigenous territory, works as an electoral thug in local elections, and constantly gets challenged to fights at the pulperías where he drinks, eventually being executed. Van Bredam's Gil follows a similar arc: he deserts the army as his commanding officer and fellow soldiers commit heinous acts of sexual violence, he goes on the lam, his supposed supernatural abilities become a topic of local gossip and eventually he is executed. Both gauchos are depicted as *mentado*, superhuman figures.

While in Gutiérrez's novel Juan Moreira's superpowers stem from strength and dexterity with a *facón*, in Van Bredam's text the supernatural abilities are depicted as being due to the Gauchito's devotion to Saint Balthazar. There is also a structural similarity between the two texts. While Van Bredam did not write for serial publication, his text has the same highly episodic contours. Gutiérrez's romantic-journalistic gaze is replaced by an anthropologic gaze which looks to record what the nebulous "ellos" of the folkloric "dicen" say about the gaucho while presenting a version of Gil which would be relatively acceptable to the institutional church.

Van Bredam's text follows the reverse trajectory of *Juan Moreira*'s textual history which started as a serial in Argentine newspapers, running in the summer of 1879-1880. Its popularity led the Carlo Brothers' circus to develop a mimed version of the story with Gutiérrez and José Podestá in 1884. When Podestá left the Carlo circus to form the Podestá-Scotti company in 1885, he brought the mime act with him, eventually adding dialogue in 1886. The Podestá-Scotti *Juan Moreira* was incredibly well received and became motor of the "creole drama craze" that swept through the Platine region over the next decade and a half (Acree 72–74). Acree argues that these *criollo* dramas had a ritual function. The show frequently took place in venues with pits for horse riding competitions (e.g., sortijas) that were interpolated throughout the shows. Over time, Podestá-Scotti's *Juan Moreira* and its imitators began to incorporate simulacra of *fiestas campestres* (the festivals marking the end of the working season) into their performances and inviting the audience to come into the performance space to participate, drawing the rituals of agricultural life into the venue. Acree argues that beyond the ritual of the *fiestas campestres*, "the fight for justice and the underdog, the forces of good versus those of evil, and the maintenance of honor all fed into this ritual aura" (90). In its remediation, the *Juan Moreira* cycle becomes increasing ritual in nature.

In contrast, the cult of Gil starts with ritual pilgrimage and textualizes over time. According to the narrative, Gil preformed pilgrimages associated with Saint Balthazar, and then at his death became the object of pilgrimages. As noted above, Gil's devotees sometimes arrive on horseback and in gaucho wear. This parallels the craze to "go creole" and "play gaucho" that accompanied the *criollo* dramas of the late nineteenth century (Acree 115, 125). Acree argues that the criollista movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with its *Criollo* Societies was ritual in nature, with the parades, costume wearing, mate drinking and asados taking on the role of "a public ritual that could be formative or transformative" (134). While the Podestá-Scotti spectacle took Gutierrez's text and imbued it with the ritual nature of performance and incorporated simulacra of rural seasonal ritual, Van Bredam takes the living performance of ritual and imbues it with a text.

The novella's tendency to undermine or cast doubt on the more outlandish and extravagant legends about the Gauchito tie it back to the medieval tradition of Saint's lives. In the saint's life par excellence, Jacobus Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (~1260), Jacobus frequently expresses skepticism, invites the reader to consider various sources and views, and brings into question the stories that he presents (Duffy xviii). The value of presenting the outlandish and extravagant, even in the context of skepticism, is that it maintains the folkloric gaze (this is, after all, "lo que *dicen*") and it allows for an ostensibly didactic saints' life to also act as entertainment. As Robin Anne Rice shows, the "leitmotiv" of saint's lives are miracles that run the gamut from "lo más pedestre a lo más extraordinario," but also serve as entertainment (8).

Van Bredam also presents the Gauchito practicing a Hobsbawmian-style social banditry. In *Bandits*, the social historian Eric Hobsbawm posited the existence of "social bandits", which existed on the margins of peasant society but were aligned with and fought for the interests of their peasant peers. Richard Slatta and Anton Blok have shown Hobsbawm to be too

reliant on urban texts that mythologize the figure of the brigand, causing him to overplay the ties between peasantry and bandit (Slatta 3, 9). While Hobsbawm's formulation may not always correspond with the historical reality of banditry, it does correspond with the Gil's banditry presented in *El retobado*. For example, "empezó a decirse en Mercedes [. . .] que había un gauchito que robaba a los ricos para darles a los pobres. En realidad, lo que debió de decirse, es que recuperaba para los pobres lo que los ricos les habían quitado" (44). Gil makes an oath "por San Baltasar y por Cristo y por todos los desesperados de la tierra" (45), based in his conviction that the pestilence, war, famine, and evil are not of God, but of man: "el señor no puso nada [. . .] la mezquindad de los hombres fue la que sembró de huevos la tierra" (41). In Van Bredam's telling, Gil realizes that he is forced to be a *gaucho malo*, but choses to be a *gaucho malo bueno*. It is logical that a novella/saint's life about a gaucho would follow these Hobsbawmian lines. The saint's life genre is designed to tell the stories of extraordinary people—saints—who renounce the world despite being "beset by enemies—demonic forces, unbelieving parents and family, heretics, and hostile secular rulers" (Duffy xix). The Hobsbawmian bandit is similarly a fantastic and ahistorical figure who, occupying a liminal space on the frontiers of geography and law, renounces mainstream society and cares for the poor.

The novella dramatizes a debate among the people of the nearby parish as to whether Gil was a saint. In response to the claims that Gil was "un gauchito travieso, mujeriego and amigo de lo ajeno," the executioner argues that Gil was innocent of those accusations because "con sangre inocente se cura a otro inocente" (56). Then, faced with the fact that the priest is claiming that Gil "tenía tratos con Mandinga," the executioner responds, "el cura dice y dice porque el cura defiende su negocio ¿Qué tal si todos nos vamos detrás del gauchito y le despoblamos a la iglesia? [. . .] la Iglesia ha inventa'o tantas vírgenes y tantos santos que bien podría aceptar a éste ¿qué le hace otra mancha más al tigre, no les parece?" (57). The executioner's logic is the

same as the tautology that Graziano identifies in many devotees' defenses of supposedly unsavory folk saints: the folk saint's innocence in life is proven by the miracles they perform after death (142). The interlocutors eventually agree that it is appropriate to worship Gil "si el pueblo lo pide" (57). The text advocates for popular sovereignty over worship practice: "detrás de este gauchito no hay ningún cura que te diga qué tenés que rezar, cuánto tenés que aportar, qué tenés que decir, que tenés que pensar" (57). The people have settled on the anti-hegemonic Gaucho that Viera Martins identifies in Gil (231).

The executioner's claim that the Gauchito is innocent of being a womanizer stands in tension with this novella's interest in the Gauchito's sexual adventures (which in terms of the hegemonic church are acts of fornication). Like in the Juan Moreira cycle, there is an act of sexual violence by the law at the heart of Gil's conversion to bandit and to folk saint; however, in the case of Van Bredam's Gil, it is the refusal to participate in that sexual violence that sets him on the path to banditry. Van Bredam's treatment of Gil's sexual awakening, his various lovers, and the dangers of his affair with the priestess at the Balthazar shrine all function variously within the "docere, delectare, et movere" framework of the Saint's Life genre that Robin Anne Rice identifies. In an early chapter which reminisces on his adolescence, Gil is taught the folk belief that "a los pajeros les sale un pelo en la palma" (21) and is initiated into the sexual world by his middle-aged healer (*payesera*) neighbor, Jimena Carmona, who "a diferencia de todos esos hombres violentos de Zalazar, [. . .] le había enseñado a apreciar el valor de una caricia, a saber esperar a la compañera, a jugar como los gatos, sin dramatismo, y a escuchar, después del amor las confesiones inevitables" (22). In the folk saint's later sexual encounters, including his refusal to rape, it becomes clear that he took Jimena Carmona's teaching to heart. This adolescent phase of the novella is clearly modeling an ideal sexuality in the didactic or *docere* mode. In a humorous section of the novella, Ladislao, the lustful son of a *patrón* is cursed by Gil and Balthazar's power with erectile disfunction

for assaulting a *campesina*. After trying every folk remedy possible, Ladislao is resigned to his fate, until Ñu Margarita, "la mujer más fea y desarticulada que recuerdan en el lugar," engages him sexually (51). Their sex is humorously long lasting, grotesque, and public. However, Ladislao's family is disappointed to find that Ladislao's renewed passion is only aroused by Ñu Margarita and even more disappointed when the young man runs away with her.

While the Gauchito's early sexual exploits are didactic and Ladislao's punishment is entertaining, the Gauchito's sexual encounter with Grisel is designed to move the reader. Occupying chapters 18, 20, 21, and 23, this episode follows Gil as he seeks out Grisel, the woman whose rape prompted his desertion from the army, finding her in a brothel. She insists on providing her sexual services, and then expresses her internalized guilt from rape. When Gil tells her that "usted no tiene la culpa" and then refuses to hear more about the rape she replies emotionally "¡Me vas a escuchar! [. . .] Es mi tarifa" (73). During their sexual encounter the gaucho notes that Grisel "no fingía. Él sabía que todas las putas fingían, pero Grisel no fingía" (71). Before this point, Gil's understanding of Grisel's experience—like the reader's understanding—is secondhand. He heard her rape but did not participate. Grisel pairs her testimony of her trauma with complete surrender to the sexual act. Gil is forced to confront Grisel's firsthand testimony of sexual frontier violence in conjunction with sexual consummation.

The tension between the novelistic and the hagiographic here lies in the pull between *docere* on one pole, and *delectare* and *movere* on the other pole. But the rub between the novelistic and the hagiographic also lies in how truth is approached. Van Bredam's novella insists on referring to decedents of the actors involved in the plot as informants and on the constant rhetorical use of "dicen;" however, Van Bredam undermines this approach. When Grisel asks Gil why he couldn't have just asked around to know her fate, Gil responds "siempre desconfié de los que repiten lo que otros dicen" (66). Here, just lines

before the chapter that lists Gil's posthumous miracles, the saint himself casts doubt on *lo que dicen*. While *El retobado* is a textualization of the Gil worship preformed on the Guaraní frontier, it also questions the effectiveness of such a textualization.

The Gauchito on the Urban Frontier

Graziano observes a movement of Gauchito Gil worship from the littoral to the urban and para-urban spaces of Buenos Aires and its environs (66). In this section of this article, I examine texts that deal with the Gauchito from urban geographies, first the cumbia villera "Mi Gauchito Gil," and then Mariana Enríquez's short story "El chico sucio" (2016). While the Gaucho has been transported to a new geography, he is still on the frontier: between sainthood and banditry and between the mainstream and the marginal, but also more concretely on what Emilio Willems terms as the "anonymous frontier." Willems argues that frontiers in Latin America are often industrial frontiers, where a single industry (cattle, rubber, etc.) leads to a rapid social hierarchization and closure of the frontier, but that there are also "unsuccessful," "anonymous" frontiers which are "the frontier of the little man, who has not found wealth but merely conditions of survival superior to those that prevailed in the area or country whence he came" (214). Willems suggests that Latin American shantytowns and marginal neighborhoods are a modern anonymous frontier, where squatters stake claims to property extralegally with hopes of eventual regularization (219), where they are met with resistance from natives (in this case the established urban classes) (220), and where they exploit the resources of their new geography (swapping cattle grazing for proximity to a labor market) (219, 221). In the shift from cattle frontier to anonymous frontier, the cultural production around Gaucho Gil makes some meaningful generic shifts; however, the tensions that define his being and his worship persist. In this section I read cumbia villera as a ritual counterpoint to the chamamés that we

saw in the first section, and then I examine the slippages between gaucho and guacho in the anonymous frontier.

In "Mi Gauchito Gil" by La Piedra Urbana the cumbia villera subculture intersects with Gaucho Gil subculture. The band is made up of brothers Gonzalo and Hugo Argüello, who hail from the barrio of La Paz, Argentina in the southern suburbs of Buenos Aires. While they do not sing specifically Christian music, they got their start with support from their local priest: "sus comienzos fueron en la Iglesia del barrio donde vivían, donde el Padre Juan José, fue el encargado de prestarle el sonido, el micrófono y el lugar para que fueran ensayando" ("Biografía"). As of April of 2024, the band garnered 377,712 monthly listeners on Spotify, concentrated in Buenos Aires, Santiago (Chile), Córdoba (Argentina), and Montevideo ("La Piedra Urbana, About"). They have upwards of 10,600 followers on Instagram. While they might not be considered widely popular, these numbers indicate that the band has at least made an impact on the cumbia scene.

Cumbia villera is a form of synth-heavy music popular in Argentina among the lower classes. In *Troubling Gender: Youth and Cumbia in Argentina's Music Scene* Pablo Vila summarizes the evolution of cumbia into cumbia villera:

> Since its popularization in the late 1950s and early 1960s by groups such as El Cuarteto Imperial and Los Wawancó, cumbia, which originated in Colombia, has become a dance of choice in Argentina's popular sectors [. . .] Cumbia villera, a more electric variant of cumbia in which keyboards usually replace the traditional accordion and an electric drum set replaces acoustic percussion, developed in the 1990s. (Vila 2)

This is an urbanized form of a folk music, whose original lineup was not drastically distinct from the chamamé. Vila later explains that the cumbia villera tends to be in a minor mode: "Harmonically, cumbia is generally written in minor key and mostly moves between the tonic chord (I-) and a cadential chord that

can be either the dominant chord (V), of the harmonic minor scale, or the bVII chord, of the natural minor scale" (24). This brings a different mood than the major-keyed chamamés. "Mi Gauchito Gil" leans into the minor key sound and really emphasizes the mysterious and dangerous qualities of the music, beginning the song with a sample of a nefarious, digitally effected laugh.

The song includes recurring verses and chorus. The recording also has some simulated crowd banter at the beginning: "Con mucho respecto para todos los devotos al Gauchito Antonio Gil buen amor de toda la piedra urbana / palmas arriba, palmas en alto, la piedra sonando" and in the bridge: "¿Gonza, te gusta los Simpson?" (La Piedra Urbana). The question about the Simpsons and the lines about "palmas" are present in a variety of the band's songs, but the invocation to Gaucho Gil's devotees is unique to this song. Where the chamamés were careful to set Gaucho Gil veneration squarely in Corrientes, the verse of this song is set in the urban "barrio": "Caminando por mi barrio / no me importa nada" (La Piedra Urbana). In addition to relocating the center of worship from the rural to the urban and thereby decentralizing it, this song strongly emphasizes the quid pro quo nature of the devotee/saint relationship: the speaker has a Gil tattoo, so Gil helps him, and he leaves a cigar and a glass of wine at Gil's altar in payment.

The chorus digs deeper into the quid pro quo nature of the relationship, emphasizing how the Gauchito "no me discrimina porque ando ganando," meaning Gaucho Gil doesn't mind the speaker's illicit activity. The chorus also emphasizes the stakes of Gil worship: "Camino en las noches camino de día / y mis adversarios me andan buscando / Para acabar mi vida" ("Mi Gauchito"). The parallels between the urban villero's relationship with Gaucho Gil and Gil's relationship with San La Muerte are striking: the speaker of this song see himself as invincible because he is a devotee of Gil, just as Gil was invincible through his devotion to San La Muerte. Notably, the last line of the chorus, "para acabar mi vida," is repeated three times; this focuses the listener, not

on the miracles of Gil, but rather on the dangers of the speakers' environment. Despite the tonal and geographic differences, this song shares the chamamés' sacrificial aims. In a final spoken line in the song, Hugo says "Promesa cumplida, Gonza." They are *promeseros*, and the song is a literal sacrifice to Gil.

It is logical that Gil worship music would make the leap from chamamé to cumbia. After all, Gil is "medio bandolero, medio vaquero, [. . .] nació y creció en los vastos descampados del Nordeste argentino, territorio al margen de la ley [. . .] Con seguridad formaba parte de los estratos más bajos de la sociedad argentina" (Vieira Martins 213–14). The music of the "estratos más bajos de la sociedad argentina" in 21st-century Argentina is cumbia villera. We see in the accumulation of cultures—villera and Correntino—a celebration of the counter-hegemony of the gaucho and an urban recontextualization. It is worth remembering that the inhabitants of Buenos Aires' villas are often descendants of rural immigrants who moved to the city from places like Corrientes. Thus, chamamé and cumbia villera are the music expressions of a people that have moved from the cattle frontier to the anonymous frontier. This isn't the urban elite appropriating the voice of the Gaucho to create a patriotic or national narrative (as in Lussich, Hernández or Güiraldes), it is the urban subaltern adapting the folk-saint Gaucho to their needs.

"El chico sucio:" mapping Gil onto the barrio

Mariana Enríquez's 2017 collection, *Las cosas que perdimos en el fuego*, opens with the story "El chico sucio." Narrated in first person by a middle-class young woman who stubbornly lives alone in her family home in the marginalized Buenos Aires neighborhood of Constitución in order to "sentir precisa y audaz, despierta" (Enríquez 11). The story follows the narrator's encounter with a homeless child who lives in the neighborhood with his drug-addicted mother. On Gauchito Gil's saint's day, the narrator takes the titular chico sucio into her home and later to an ice-cream parlor. The child's mother then threatens the

narrator. Shortly thereafter, there is a media circus in the barrio around the death and mutilation of another child, which the narrator fears might be the child from across the street. Through the narrator, the Gauchito is mapped onto the Constitution neighborhood.

The precision, awareness, and audacity that the narrator is so proud of takes the form of a spatial awareness. She is like a cartographer, who sees the neighborhood in terms of blocks and mass transit. Lala, her genderqueer hairdresser, questions the intimacy of her understanding of the neighborhood: "que sabrás vos de lo que pasa *en serio* por acá, mamita. Vos vivís acá, pero sos de otro mundo" (Enríquez 14). For the narrator, the "historias de terror del barrio" are not worth hearing, because they are "todas inverosímiles y creíbles al mismo tiempo" (14). The stories in the barrio represent an imprecise way of knowing that is contrasted with the narrator's own cartographical awareness. Introducing her neighborhood, the narrator explains the geography of relative safety: "pero si uno sabe moverse, si entiende las dinámicas, los horarios, no es peligroso. O es menos peligroso. [. . .] Sé que, si vuelvo a mi casa caminando por la avenida, estoy más expuesta a un robo que si regreso por la calle Solís (10). This organized approach to this neighborhood stands in stark contrast to what Gabriele Bizzarri terms as the neighborhood's "anarquía espacial" (218). The narrator's security as a single, middle-class woman is defined in relationship to streets, avenues, borders, train lines and bus lines. I argue the inclusion of Gil in this narrative allows us to consider it in terms of the Correntino frontier, as a place of contact between two societies. For Bizzarri the narrator is doing "turismo de favela" (218). If we were to recast this narrator into Gil's world, we could see in her as a sort of *baquiano* of the villa; she is a middle-class guide, whose spatial awareness helps guide Mariana Enríquez's audience through the *terra incognita* of the marginal neighborhood.

The narrator practices this mapping on the night of January 8, but the map has a new element: the Gauchito. She maps her and the chico sucio's

trajectory between her home and the ice cream parlor, emphasizing that the three blocks of Ceballos Street can often be silent and calm, but are typically lined with "las travestis menos esculturales, las más gorditas o las más viejas" (17). However, this night, "las tres cuadras estaban casi vacías de travestis pero estaban llenas de altares" (17). Where in her map she expected to find trans sex-workers, she instead finds the Gaucho. The boy seeks to differentiate the Gauchito from San La Muerte, who he has seen "allí atrás." Again, this is an act of mapping the barrio, as the narrator explains, "'allí atrás' es una referencia al otro lado de la estación, pasando los andenes, ahí donde las vías y sus terraplenes se pierden hacia el sur. Ahí suelen aparecer altares para santos menos amables que el Gauchito Gil" (18). The demarcation on the narrator's map here is double, the space behind the trainyard is a space where she doesn't go and a space where a more sinister vernacular religion can reside.

This need to demarcate the difference between the Gauchito and San La Muerte is then repeated in the narrator's response to the mutilation and murder of the other child. The neighborhood rumors start turning around the idea that the child "fue un sacrificio, una ofrenda a San La Muerte" (26). The narrator dismisses this as pure rumors, and in her dismissal equates San La Muerte with Pomba Gira, Lala's preferred deity:

> ¿Y lo de San La Muerte? Casualidad. Lala decía que el barrio estaba lleno de devotos de San La Muerte, todos los inmigrantes paraguayos y la gente de Corrientes eran fieles del santito, pero eso no los convertía en asesinos; ella era devota de Pomba Gira, que tiene aspecto de una mujer demonio, con cuernos y tridente, ¿y eso la convertía en una asesina satánica? (Enríquez 27)

When the police question the narrator as part of their investigation, they bring up the Gauchito, suggesting a connection between the child's death and the saint's because they both had their necks cut. The overlap between the possibility that the murder was an homage to San La Muerte and the possibility

that it was a type of Gaucho Gil's death reflects the narrator's confusion over the dead boy's identity. Even after she sees the dead boy's mother on television and knows that it isn't the same woman as the titular chico sucio's mother, she struggles to stop believing that the dead boy is the street boy: "a pesar de las fotos, a pesar de las pruebas – incluso de las fotos del cadáver [. . .] yo seguía creyendo que el chico sucio era el muerto" (Enríquez 29). This short story is replete with double images (i.e., el Gauchito/San La Muerte, narrator/mother, and chico sucio/chico muerto) that slip between each other.

There is also the guacho/gaucho overlap. Perhaps the most famous association between "gaucho" and "guacho" is embodied in Fabio, the young protagonist of Ricardo Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra*. Fabio, a young orphan boy who in his adolescent years is taught to be a gaucho by Segundo Sombra, and then on the cusp of manhood finds out that he is set to inherit his father's farm. In her critical edition of the novel, Sara Parkinson de Saz points out that "Fabio empieza como 'guacho' y acaba como 'gaucho'" (Güiraldes 69). In Enríquez's story, the chico sucio is constantly on the verge of being an orphan. In the aftermath of the other child's murder, the narrator expresses a middleclass saviorism desire to have custody of the chico sucio. In the story's climax, the narrator accosts the chico sucios' no-longer-pregnant mother and demands to know where the child is. The mother initially responds yelling "YO NO TENGO HIJOS," but eventually relents "yo se los di" (32). While Güiraldes' Fabio progresses from guacho to gaucho-apprentice to farm owner, the chico sucio does not progress. The evening walk to the ice cream shop can be read in as a parallel to the Fabio and Segundo Sombra's apprenticeship. Just as Sombra teaches Fabio the lifestyle of the gaucho while they travel across the closing pampa frontier, Enríquez's narrator teaches the chico sucio the ways of the Gauchito as they navigate the dark Constitución streets. While Fabio eventually inherits the farm, the chico sucio's fate remains uncertain. After accosting the chico's mother, the narrator returns to her home and expects

the child to return to her door or to be found dead: "esperaba los golpes suaves de la mano pegajosa del chico sucio o el ruido de su cabeza rodando por la escalera" (33). Thus, the child becomes a sort of Schrödinger's child: both alive and dead, both street savvy and in need of motherly protection, and both given up for adoption and on the streets.

The Gauchito comes up again in Enríquez's eco-terror story titled "Bajo el agua negra." This story also deals with a middle-class female protagonist investigating the death of a young boy in a marginal neighborhood. Like the narrator of "El chico sucio," the prosecutor Marina Pinat is comfortable navigating the villa. When she is informed that an undead adolescent has returned to the villa from the depths of the nearby polluted river, she decides to investigate personally. She realizes that there is something different about the slum as she enters and realizes that it is silent and "le extrañó la total falta de los santos populares, los Gauchito Gil, las Iemanjá, incluso algunas vírgenes que solían tener pequeños altares" (167). This short reference to the Gaucho, and to the afro-Brazilian deity Iemanjá, reinforces the image of the Gil as an innocuous, but omnipresent part of villa life that we see in "El chico sucio." It is in his absence that the truly sinister takes place. In both texts the Gauchito represents a place on the frontier between rationality and irrationality. In the case of "Bajo el agua negra," the absence of Gil marks the villa's passage into the unreality and irrationality of horror. In "El chico sucio" the narrator's interaction with the boy in the presence of the Gauchito facilitates her later descent into irrationality. We might here recall Weber and Rausch's definition of frontiers as "geographic zones of interaction between two or more distinctive cultures" where "cultures contend with one another to produce a dynamic that is unique to time and place" (xiv). In much the same way, Gaucho Gil serves as a frontier between the rational world of these female investigators and the irrational geographies of belief and misery in marginalized neighborhoods.

Conclusion

Frank Graziano theorizes that the general trajectory of folk devotion starts with a spark of disillusionment with institutional religion and then as the following becomes larger it becomes increasingly capitalistic and institutionalized. This trajectory plays out to some extent in each of the examples he follows in his book, but especially with La Difunta Correa, whose shrine is now under state control which has regularized the market around the shrine and built a worship drive through lane for truckers (169).[1] When Graziano published *Cultures of Devotion* in 2006, he saw Gil's devotion following the trajectory of institutionalization that Correa's devotion had undergone (41). When he visited Mercedes, the religious and governmental authorities were actively looking for ways to demolish the shantytown and informal market to regularize the environment around the shrine (Graziano 137–39). In the intervening years, Argentina's Vialidad Nacional agency, with back up from the Gendarmería Nacional and the Correntino provincial police, razed the informal market around the shrine on December 17, 2021 ("Así quedó el predio"). At the end of June 2022, the newspaper *Corrientes Hoy* reported that the government's plan to go forward building the "Centro Recreativo y de Devoción del Gaucho Gil" on 51 acres surrounding the site would be ready to go forward within weeks, pending an agreement of sale with one hold-out landowner ("Proyectan constituir").

The Gauchito Gil, in both the rural and urban geographies of the Guaraní frontier, represents an aporia between people and institutions. The historical founding of his tradition at the site of extra-judicial state violence and the accumulation of San La Muerte, San Balthazar, Catholicism, and popular thought make him a particularly potent and portable symbol. The growth of Gauchito worship has brought with it a gradual institutionalization, reflecting the processes of institutionalization that frontier spaces undergo. Indeed, the gaucho is a distillation of the frontier. He represents a place of contact

between belief systems and between the institutional and the popular. Being made an outlaw in the Argentine Civil War, he represents the limits of state power and facilitates textual, oral, and performative play and ritual. It would seem, however, that Gil is on a trajectory to becoming the *man*, culture masquerading as nature.[2]

Notes

1 La Difunta Correa is an Argentine folk saint who, they say, died in the San Juan desert after her husband was forcibly recruited to fight in the Civil War. Her infant suckled on her miraculously full breast for days before being discovered.

2 Thank you to the reviewers of this article for their excellent suggestions.

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