

# The Indigenous Vision of Ecology in *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa

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## Abstract

The contributions of Mario Vargas Llosa, along with other “boom” writers, to Latin American literature have drawn attention to Third World literature. His novels, apart from functioning on multidirectional social issues, create an awareness of the environmental issues of the Amazons. Concerning ecological issues, postcolonial countries face more crises compared to developed countries. Literary works focusing on environmental degradation emerge from these countries. Llosa’s *The Storyteller* is an ecocritical novel that can provoke a reevaluation of man-nature interactions through an exploration of Indigenous culture. This article is an attempt to bring out the Indigenous vision of ecology as present in the novel *The Storyteller* by Llosa. It also advocates the need for critical analysis of postcolonial novels, which will reveal connections between imperialism, environmental degradation, capitalism, and cultural hegemony.

**Keywords:** Ecocriticism, Ecology, Indigenous, Mario Vargas Llosa, *The Storyteller*, Machiguenga

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Ecocriticism

In the 1960s, ecocriticism emerged as a ground-breaking theory in English literature. This theory examines the portrayal of the natural environment in literary genres throughout history. William Rueckert, whose article *Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism* (1978) is considered the origin of ecocriticism, defined the discipline as “the application of ecology and ecological concepts to the study of literature, because ecology (as a science, as a discipline, as the basis for human vision) has the greatest relevance to the present and future of the world” (Glotfelty and Fromm, 1997 pp. 105). Ecocriticism explores the human-nature relationship in literary works. It is multidisciplinary in nature and focuses on literary examination of how our economic, cultural, religious, and technological perspectives impact nature. Ecocriticism tries to change these attitudes by generating reflection on the social emphasis on environmental devastation and growing technology. It is also known by several other titles, including “Ecopoetics,” “Environmental literary criticism,” “Green Studies,” and “Literary Ecology” (Gladwin, 2019). After the 1990s, the theory gained popularity and evolved into numerous interdisciplinary theories by combining with other theories as “Ecofeminism,” “Marxist Ecocriticism,” and “Eco theology.” Literature in ecocriticism has been put into two groups: (1) works that focus on humans, called “anthropocentric,” and (2) works that put nature in the centre and people on the periphery, called “ecocentric”. DeVries, a researcher, praises the contribution of Latin American and other postcolonial literature to ecological literature, saying that it “takes political ecology in different directions and even predicts some of the current environmentalist discourse: deep ecology, conservationism, sustainable development, and ideas about the rights of nonhuman animals.” (DeVries, 2010, pp.36)

### 1.2 Mario Vargas Llosa

Mario Vargas Llosa is a Peruvian writer, journalist, and essayist who became a politician in 1993 and won the Nobel Prize in literature in 2010. Llosa, who began writing in 1959, leads Peruvian literature in the international literary regime and raises awareness of Latin American literature in general. Some of his best-known works include *The Green House* (1965), *The Time of the Hero* (1963), *The War of the End of the World* (1981), *The Storyteller* (1989), *In Praise*

of *Stepmother* (1990), *Death in the Andes* (1996), and *The Feast of the Goat* (2001). Llosa belongs to the “Boom Movement” of Latin American literature but followed a unique style to bring out a kaleidoscopic view of Peruvian society. Even though modernist writers like Flaubert, William Faulkner, and Ernest Hemingway had a significant impact on him, his writing can be described as unique and cannot be categorized as modernist and post-modernist.

### 1.3 The Storyteller

The Machiguengas are Indigenous tribes of the Amazon, chiefly living around the banks of the Urumba river in Peru. “Traditionally Machiguengas live in scattered single family units or small extended family hamlets that subsist on a combination of hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture.” (Henrich, 1997 pp. 322) Before the colonial invasions of the Americas, the Incas tried to invade them for centuries but failed because they were men who devoted themselves to walking. They believe that their walking keeps the world stable. Colonial and postcolonial rules caused continuous damage to their survival, which concerned Mario Vargas Llosa. He expresses the concern through his character Saul in this novel. Throughout the centuries, Jesuit missionaries, colonial authorities, Franciscans, and Dominicans intruded on the existence of the Machiguengas and exploited them. Saul blames the Linguistic Association, one among several such institutions aimed at research on the native languages, but their true intentions are various others. For example, rubber traders captured the native people and forced them to work for them in the vulcanizing of rubber. In the 19th and 20th centuries, when sugarcane, hydrocarbons, quinine, and rubber were mined, the Amazon basin became a very desirable place for traders from different foreign countries.

*The Storyteller* is Llosa’s 1987 novel, which tells the story of Saul Zuratus and, parallelly, the history of an Amazonian tribal group called Machiguenga (the history is narrated by a different, anonymous storyteller, or Hablador in oral form). The entire novel is an enabled dialogue on the westernization of the native Indian culture. It contains multiple levels of themes such as acculturation, minority identity, the diversity of Peruvian culture, the oral tradition of storytelling, and an Indigenous vision of ecology. The novel employs two narrators; one is a middle-aged Peruvian writer who resembles the characteristics of Vargas Llosa, and the other is an anonymous storyteller who travels to the Machiguenga villages to narrate the history of the tribal group to the surviving community. This article analyses the ecological vision of the Amazonian indigenous peoples, based on Saul’s transformation which is the key element of this article. Chapters 1,2,4,6, and 8 are narrated by the writer-narrator, and the odd chapters 3,5 and 7 are narrated by Saul, who is in the identity of the Hablador. The narrator’s version narrates the process of modernization of Peru and the Machiguengas from the perspective of the dominant culture’s members. The Hablador tells the story of the tribe from the beginning, mixing in mythological stories and the process of modernization from the point of view of a person from an Indigenous culture.

The plot develops an extended argument about the native Indian tribes of Peru in the modernization process. Saul argues that the tribes should be left alone to continue their primitive existence so that their culture will be sustained uncorrupted and the land that has been theirs for millennia will remain for good. The narrator, on the other hand, argues for the modernization of the indigenous cultures because economic and cultural modernization will exploit the native tribes if they are not educated and modernized in an age of exploitation. Both narrators relate to the theme of storytelling, which enables them to connect themselves to their respective communities. The discussion between the two friends can be viewed as a vision of environmentalism vs. a vision of ecology. The Machiguengas were living as an isolated itinerant community in the jungle. They could not acquire environmentalism, as proposed by the author-narrator, which would have been an impact of western education. Instead, they had acquired their own wisdom through transmitting history through oral tales. The author-narrator’s version of environmentalism was based on his education, bound with western thought. Western environmentalism is particular, whereas the Indigenous vision connects everyone and everything and eventually concerns the whole ecology.

## 2. Review of Literature

(Bragard & Fabry, 2016). In their article, “A Parrot Without Feathers? Examining the Inscription of Indigenous Mythical Tales in the Novels of the Two Authors, Vargas Llosa’s “The Storyteller” and Pauline Melville’s “The Ventriloquist’s Tale,” Bragard and Fabry analysed the oral tradition of storytelling and argued that postcolonial authors made a nostalgic gesture towards Indigenous culture in both novels. A parallel discussion on acculturation, evangelization, and ventriloquy (in narrating history) was held by the researchers, who discovered an aporia between the need to enter modernity to survive and the need to escape modernity to preserve one’s cultural identity. According to the researchers, Llosa’s narrative falls short of portraying and defending native Indian culture in an appropriate manner. They go on to say that Llosa’s narrator is more concerned with his own fantasies than with the native culture’s pluralism because of his “Romantic predilections and modernist tendencies.”(Newmark, 2003, pp.5)

(Urioste, 2000). In his article Maria Vargas Llosa’s *El Hablador* as a Discourse of Conquest, Jose Castro Urioste states

that the novel is one of the most important examples of Peruvian literature that reflects multicultural realities and generates a national image based on Indigenous traditions. Based on the theories of Angel Rama and Antonio Polar, this article examines *El Hablador's* functions as a novel within the discourse of conquest under the model of modernity. The novel's various binary oppositions relating to "civilization and barbarism" serve as an allegory of the modern nation. According to the researcher, the fiction shows a civilised part of the world and does not show the country from the point of view of the people who live there.

(Casals, 2016). Andrea Casals' book *Ecocriticism and Ecological Writing in Chile* delves into the Latin American tradition of ecocriticism, which predates the arrival of ecocritical theory and literary studies in academic research. The researcher talked about "Poetry of the Land" and "Poetry of the Hearth," which are literary expressions of a sense of place, and a tradition that prioritised the study of mankind's relationship with nature. Ecocriticism is a new theory, says Casals, because Latin American writers were already interested in environmental issues before the western theory of ecocriticism came along.

### 3. Methodology

This article incorporated Ecocriticism theory to critically analyse the ecocentric vision the novel *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa. Within the broader term, William Rueckert's theory of studying literature with the light of ecocriticism had been deployed by the researcher. This is a study on the impacts of a clash between humans and nature through textual interpretation.

### 4. Discussion

Postcolonial in nature, Llosa's novels highlight the connection between the native Indians of Peru, the Indigenous population of Peru, and the Peruvian Amazon. His novels *The Storyteller*, *The Green House*, *Death in the Andes*, *History of Alejandro Mayta*, and *The War of the End of the World* all dealt with the Amazon rainforest and its exploitation. The Amazon rainforests are a lush region that stretches across nine Latin American countries: Brazil, Peru, Columbia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Guyana, French Guiana, and Suriname. There are nearly 400 tribes living in the rainforests. Many of them have contact with the outside world, and some of them still live isolated from the outside world. The region has been home to many plant and animal species. It is the world's region with the highest biodiversity. Economic changes in Latin American countries have transformed forests from a remote backwater to an important part of the economy. Logging and deforestation have cleared 1.4 million hectares of the forests, especially after the 1970s. Despite the failure of cattle ranching in the 1800s and 1900s, market-oriented cattle grazing has increased in recent decades with the goal of establishing land claims. Scholars of ecocriticism concerning the Amazons should explore the vision of ecology by connecting local environments to the global vision of ecology.

In his book, *Mario Vargas Llosa: A Life in Writing*, Raymond Williams praised Llosa's portrayal of the Amazon jungle and the establishment of a universal view of humans as any other natural organisms who suffer to survive. He lists four novels by Llosa to be read as fiction with an ecological vision. *The Storyteller* is a unique narrative that perceives an Indigenous vision of ecology, a quality that makes it one of the most important narratives in Latin American fiction with an ecocritical vision. The oral discourse of Indigenous people should be given due attention in the realm of postcolonial studies because it reflects the wisdom of the native culture. Postcolonial writers are interested in Indigenous thinking, which they consider a way of rewriting their own version of history. Llosa brought the Peruvian tribe's purgatory position to a worldwide audience. From this point of view, reading the book with an ecocritical perception is important and necessary. Llosa's concern for the environment can be looked at from three different angles: 1) how he shows an Amazonian tribe and the jungle; 2) how Indigenous people see ecology; and 3) how his ecocriticism relates to the climate crisis in the Amazons today.

Through *The Storyteller*, Llosa textualized his own experience of travelling to the Amazons. The author was worried about the future and sustainability of the Amazon regions because tribal groups in those areas were changing because of contact with the outside world, western culture, religion, and institutions like linguistic society. He presented the questions to the readers through the debates of Saul and the narrator, without imposing his own assumptions, leaving the judgement up to the readers. Llosa showed his concern through a few of his novels, like *The Green House*, *Death in the Andes*, and *The War of the End of the World*. Ecological study today in its global trend faces opposing people equal to the number of its supporters. Llosa wrote about the jungle in his usual way, showing it as a strong force that controls people through tribal knowledge.

Not only do most tribal communities around the world still think of nature as alive and more important than humans, but most primitive communities do as well. But western cultures viewed nature as an object and presumed that they could do anything to nature for their economic well-being. Through presenting an argumentative dialogue between two

Peruvian scholars, the author brought both discourses together in one context and showed the result of acculturation at the end of the novel. The vulnerabilities of environmental degradation are only in the exploited areas. According to ecocriticism experts, there aren't enough eco-literary texts because the number of texts has decreased and only comes from third-world countries. These works fluctuate between saving a specific ecosystem or a particular environment and addressing 21st century climate change on a universal scale. Recent writings from postcolonial countries like *Migrations* by Charlotte McConaghy, *Gold Fame Citrus* by Claire Vaye Watkins, *Parable of the Sower* by Octavia E. Butler, *Odds Against Tomorrow* by Nathaniel Rich, *Jungle Nama* by Amitav Ghosh, *Annihilation* by Jeff Vandermeer, and *Flight Behaviour* by Barbara Kingsolver try to fill the gap between pleas for saving the earth and comprehending the problems of current environmental issues. Developed countries and countries that exploit nature will not talk about ecology because they cannot feel the pain of third world countries. These countries express their pain in their language, where ecological language is born out of destruction. People have only seen the struggles of tribal people to save ecosystems as struggles of tribes, and the majority of the civilized population has nothing to interfere with because most people cannot feel their pain.

Literati should learn more about ecological studies, as we all have the responsibility of combining ecological studies with all the disciplines. Additionally, it is the literati's responsibility to create the language of ecology. Postcolonial countries have been ruled by representatives and exploited economically and ecologically. The politics of exploitation begins with destroying one's literature and culture. Literature can make people more aware of the Anthropocene epoch and help them think about how to live together in a way that is sustainable.

Indigenous vision of ecology is distinct from other advocacies of environmentalism as they share a deep spiritual connection with their environment. Eco-imperialism is a term coined by Paul Driessen to refer to the forceful imposition of Western environmentalist views on postcolonial countries. Paul Driessen argues that eco-imperialism is like the imperialism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that continues to exploit the developing countries for the benefit of the developed countries. A historical reading of postcolonial texts will reveal the exploitation of ecosystems. Indigenous peoples are particularly vulnerable in this regard. Indigenous ecocritical discourse can be viewed as a viable alternative to popular global environmentalism, which frequently fails to produce concrete results in terms of environmental conservation (Shanee, 2019). Indigenous speech also incorporates the local community's understanding of their native land and environment, making it more credible and appropriate. As they have consistently fought occupation and deforestation since colonial rule, and as they have become more aware of their responsibility to protect forests in response to the climate crisis, their participation in environmental conservation has received significant attention. (Etchart, 2017) They have lived a sustainable life without a touch of capitalism and without disturbing the harmony with nature. Their rights to use natural resources and live on their own land are also up for discussion.

Approaching ecocritical study from an Indigenous perspective and actively engaging in ecological sustainability could be an answer for the Indigenous people who have been experiencing violence and exploitation for ages. The western theories of western environmentalism also accept that "... non-Western or nonindustrial peoples possess an "ecological wisdom." (Jorge Marcone, 2013). Indigenous wisdom must be connected to eco-activism to save the ecosystems of the world as they are concerned more about their livelihood. The literature of the native Indians, the folk literature of tribes throughout the world, the Sangam poetry of Tamil literature, the Aboriginal literature from Canada and Australia, and the African native writings imply the same wisdom as the Machiguengas. They gave everything in nature the same value as a person. They cared about the whole world, not just saving trees and rivers near where they lived. Contemporary researchers also concern the same: "While at first glance, these inclusionary politics could be considered a move in the right direction—the "integration" of Indigenous knowledge as something to be used in the interests of global recovery from environmental crisis—it merits a deeper and more nuanced reading." (Dhillon, 2022, pp.2)

Colonial rule and the postcolonial era did unexpected and irreparable damage to the environment of the colonized countries. Colonial rule had an impact on Indigenous people and their land in both the short and long term. The novel projected both sanctification and a plea for exploitation in the name of economic growth through the two narrators. Machiguengas sanctified nature and gave it a spiritual value. *The Storyteller* projected a few such impacts on the Machiguenga tribe. Initially, they began to suffer infections from the white people to which they were vulnerable. Indigenous people were forced to move further and further into the heart of the Amazon forests because of the exploitation practised on their land. The native Indians were taken from their homes, tortured, and forced to work hard on plantations and farms. Their cultures were also changed according to their interactions with outsiders (Henrich, 1997 pp.322-324) .

*The Storyteller* adopts two different visions to travel in parallel: one is of a literary narration, a result of Westernized

education, which reflects rational thinking; and the other one is of an oral narration, an expression of Indigenous wisdom, which reflects Indigenous thinking. Eurocentric and West-centric narratives portrayed native cultures as barbaric and uncivilised in their literature. Saul in *The Storyteller* expressed an opposing view to this notion by giving a clearer picture of the Machiguenga tribes. They are like any other primitive tribal group in the world who believe that all living and inanimate organisms are spiritually connected to each other. This discussion theoretically denotes the division of North and South environmentalism of America which was originally proposed by Huggan and Tiffin in their 2010 book.

Mario Vargas Llosa's portrayal of nature in his novel is remarkable: he portrayed all his human characters as ordinary as natural objects. In other words, everyone and everything is presented with an equal level of importance in his novels. The Amazon forests, rivers of Peru, the western desert, and coastal Peru are recurring settings in the novels of Mario Vargas Llosa. Characters are merely portrayed as elements of nature who suffer an inescapable fate. Nature thus remains a powerful force in Llosa's fictional universe. *The Storyteller* is the most significant novel with an ecological perspective. The changes that occurred in the Amazon are the result of continuous exploitation by colonial and postcolonial hierarchies throughout the ages. Llosa recorded the changes by the words of a Machiguenga storyteller in the Machiguenga's Indigenous tradition, combining mythical tales and history together. The belief system of Machiguenga is a primitive animism that believes that every object in nature has a spirit, feelings, and emotions and that the world is governed by an order which can be disrupted even by the slightest expression of an extreme emotion by any human being in the world. The Machiguenga tribes think that they have a responsibility to keep the world in order by walking. Like any other Indigenous community in the world, the Machiguenga tribes think that the world is an interconnected ecological community, and its health and survival is solely dependent upon the lifestyle of the Machiguenga.

Ecological awareness of the Indigenous people is illustrated through the juxtaposition of the discourses of the narrator and the storyteller. Saul's discourse is a firm representation of the relationship of the Machiguenga community with nature. Llosa used oral discourse to establish the narration, which makes it close to the native people. Saul Zuratus argues that the Indian people are more spiritual than Westerners. They are spiritually connected to the universe. Saul realizes the facts related to the tribes as he begins to travel with them and becomes a storyteller. The Mayan tribes believed that they were descendants of the sun, as the Machiguenga believed. In one of his storytelling ceremonies, Saul tells the story of the sun and the moon. Because of a disagreement with the humans, the Machiguengas made him eat the dead body of his pregnant wife and then made him fly back to the sky. The Sun, the baby of Kashiri, was alive and later grew furious at the Machiguengas for mistreating his father. His light began to burn the humans when one of the seripigaris, or wise men, convinced the sun to walk with the Machiguengas. This story is a myth of the tribe, which illustrates their unification with nature from the beginning. Llosa highlighted the oral tradition because the Indigenous people held their cultural essence and traditional knowledge in their oral tradition. As suggested by Huggan and Tiffin, this native knowledge is necessary to preserve the ecology, which varies based on the locality.

*The storyteller* narrates the entire history of the tribe in his rituals to the fellow members of the tribe. Their history is divided in two different times as "before" and "after," with no clear distinctive timeline. "Before" is the time when the order of the world was kept, and the wisdom of the tribe was gained by their mistakes. "After" is the time when the chaos in the world had begun. The space between perfection and imperfection is central to the Machiguenga's view of the universe. They believe that the imperfect creations of the world are works of Kientibakori a god who competed with Tasurinchi, another god who created good, perfect things) like the armadillos have impure mothers. Impurity is unacceptable, which makes them kill babies born with physical imperfections and excommunicate men who do misdeeds that make something imperfect. Machiguengas, like many Native Indian communities, followed a peculiar method of agriculture: they cleared a section of the rainforest and did the agriculture, leaving the land to become rainforest again. John Charles Chasteen, who wrote the concise history of Latin America, gave a reason for this kind of cultivation. The land in the Amazons is not much of a fertile land without rain. Native tribes could grow enough food in a short amount of time by cultivating (Chasteen, 2001). This nature collided with the tribal view of the world, which made them live in harmony with nature rather than taming it as the settler communities did. Avoid violence from the natural world and the outside world, they keep walking. Chasteen's text explains the moving communities of Latin America whose practice keep the land fertile in the long run.

The narrator's knowledge and perspective on tribes, culture, and nation-states stem from his Western education and movements such as Marxism. On the other hand, the storyteller's wisdom emerged out of the historical insight of the Machiguengas, passed down from the God of thunder to Seripigari according to their myth. The tribe walks consistently to save the world from returning to its original chaos. Once they settle into a permanent village, they will begin to experience external threats to the community, which they interpret as the sun falling from the sky. The actual reason for

their walking—external threats from other tribes and colonial exploiters—hides behind their mythical way of reasoning. Colonial exploitations and the ‘booms’ that made Machiguenga move further and further into the jungle. Their continuous walking is the only way for them to survive. Once they face a bad omen or an enemy attack, they begin to walk again.

The myth also adds real people as devils and villains. Viracochas is the name given to the white men who kidnapped their people to bleed trees and tote rubber. The white men killed the tribal men who were not ready to work for them. The Machiguengas believed that “death was not death.” It was “going away and coming back.” (Llosa, 38). Such radical actions make the tribes walk once again. Throughout the narrative of *The Storyteller*, the Machiguengas never stood against their enemy and fought for their rights and their land. Their primary beliefs about extreme emotions and their determination not to get angry set them on their tragic path and made them unique from the rest of civilization. They merely accept the sufferings imposed on them by external forces such as the Incas and Western colonial invaders. The name Viracocha came from the name of an Inca god and meant an outsider who caused trouble. They feel wary of the people from outside world. They view white men with fascination, hatred, and fear. They appear as powerful people, like the gods of the Machiguenga myth. They regard everyone and everything connected to the ecological community, including devils and Viracochas, as their nature has always put them. Machiguengas’ psychological unification with nature is expressed by Llosa in the novel through a Seripigari, who tells the storyteller about his ability to listen to the Earth. He says that he could talk to the fireflies. The storyteller, whose origin is not Machiguenga, does not know how to listen to the earth, to whom the Seripigari answers that he should patiently wait until he learns to listen to the voices of nature: “If you want to hear, you have to know how to listen.” I’ve learned how. If I hadn’t, I’d have given up walking some time ago. (Llosa, 127) The Machiguengas do not hunt like other tribal groups. They fish from rivers but never commercialize fishing. The storyteller’s tale of a hunter who killed a deer, a sacred animal, was punished by the spirits by changing him into a deer. Machiguengas followed animism, a religion that believes that animate and inanimate things possess their own spirit or essence. The term animism denotes many ancient religions, particularly those of Indigenous tribal cultures.

Telling mythical tales is a way of preserving their connections with nature. They used metaphors as a form of traditional knowledge to understand nature. Oral storytelling carries history and ancestral knowledge to future generations. The Machiguenga tribes in the novel are concerned about the role of the storyteller, the only person assigned to carry their history in the form of memory, as important for their community. Their belief system includes living and non-living things in their environment. Thus, they tell tales about everyone and everything. Their memory keeps their connection with the natural world alive. Postcolonial memory also plays a vital role in the novel, reminding us of the rich tradition of orality, environmental vision, and indigeneity. The author, who searches for his friend, replays his memories of his friend throughout the novel. His memories help him rediscover the richness of his native country’s divergent cultures. The author chose two narrators to narrate two different forms of storytelling while focusing on the ways in which the ecology of the Amazons was exploited. He comes to know about the Indigenous vision of ecology through his encounter with the native Machiguenga village, where he finds the native people have become modern and are imitating western culture, an attitude that looks tragic to the narrator. He realises that his friend’s opinion on the tribes is true at last—they should be left alone on their own. Interfering with their culture will harm them more. Both forms of storytelling became fruitful as they served to enlighten their respective peoples.

## 5. Conclusion

The researchers successfully demonstrated the relevance of the current crisis of climate and environmental disasters and the traditional ecological insight of the Indigenous culture, which has been bound with the native soil and knowledge as projected by the author Llosa. The article attempted to explore the sustainable livelihood of the Machiguenga tribes, which can be viewed in relation to the sustainable ecology in the novel *The Storyteller*. The interpretation can be extended to the other cultures of Indigenous people around the world. It reviewed the significance of orality in Indigenous culture to keep man-nature interaction alive. This article analysed how Mario Vargas Llosa portrayed the jungle as a powerful entity that stands above the structure of human society in his other novels, portraying the Machiguenga world as a spiritual one where the tribal people rely entirely on natural objects for their survival. The researchers reviewed the understanding of both the spiritual and experimental livelihood of the Machiguenga, which weaves their ecological vision, which they pass on to future generations through the Habladores. It is possible to conduct more research studies with the primary focus being on indigenous discourse in connection to sustainable livelihood.

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