

INTRODUCTION

The indigenous cultures settled in the vast territories conquered by Spain starting the 16th century, have been themes and motives present in many literary works, which have been written under the influence of creative movements prevailing in each historical period.

With the upcoming celebration of the 5th Centenary of the historical event that has been denominated the discovery and conquest of America, the *Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, CEFOL*, (Center for Folklore Studies) published its Magazine "TRADITIONS OF GUATEMALA" No. 21, a series of six studies that highlight the presence of indigenous elements in Latin-American literature, as well as an inform of the research about oral tradition of *Comalapa*.

The works NAHUALISM IN THE *MEMORIAL DE SOLOLÁ* OR ANNALS OF THE CAKCHIQUELS, INDIGENOUS ELEMENTS IN THE STORY "LOS DE LA SANGRE IZTAYUB" by MARIO MONTEFORTE TOLEDO, and IMAGES OF THE INDIGENOUS/DECENTERED NARRATIVE: "EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA Y EL ZORRO DE ABAJO" by JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS, were presented by their authors as contributions at the VI International Symposium on Indigenous Latin American Literatures, held in Guatemala City from June 11 to 19, 1988.

The works NOTES ON THE INDIGENIST NOVEL BY JORGE ICAZA and ROMANTIC INDIANISM IN "*CUMANDÁ*" are the contributions delivered by their authors at the XXVII Congress of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature, held in Mexico City from August 22 to 26, 1988. Eduardo Casar and Trinidad Barrera kindly authorized their publication.

We hope that this Magazine constitutes an acknowledgement and tribute to the Latin-American indigenous cultures, which we know half of its extraordinary richness, with the aim of approaching their study using theoretical and methodological tools corresponding a Western and Cartesian worldview, in some aspects corresponding a conquerors worldview, that after 500 years of the historical event that originated it, it still marks our relationship with the Latin-American indigenous ethnicities.

Norma García Mainieri

NAHUALISM IN THE MEMORIAL DE SOLOLÁ OR ANNALS OF THE CAKCHIQUELS

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The purpose of this work is to make known one of the most important aspects of the magic-religious thinking of indigenous people: the nahualism.

Nahualism phenomena are found present in every indigenous ethnicity of Guatemala.

The conquest and colonization, especially the “Christianization” of ethnic groups, attempted to destroy the majority of its beliefs, whose existence was linked to the worship of the devil.

Although all the repeated attempts to destroy it, both in the past as in the present, such beliefs survived and still survive between indigenous people. Sometimes, they are presented “disguised” with the ceremonies typical of Christianity.

The high value work, Memorial of Sololá was chosen, because it is considered that this work, written by indigenous people and representing the tradition of a community preserves with its greater purity the described phenomenon.

I consider it appropriate to point out that no study was found about nahualism in the Memorial de Sololá.

The first part of the exposition refers to the phenomenon of nahualism. The second part contains general aspects about the Memorial of Sololá or

*Note: The author presented this work as a contribution at the VI International Symposium on Indigenous Latin American Literatures, held in Guatemala City from June 13 to 17, 1988.

Annals of the Cakchiquels. The third part refers specifically to nahualism in the Memorial de Sololá or Annals of the Cakchiquels.

Finally, there are some conclusions and recommendations.

NAHUALISM

Nahualism belongs to the magic-religious beliefs of the indigenous world. It is part of the indigenous people Cosmo vision and which is why it is important.

The study of nahualism is part of anthropology fields, but it is also important to the sociologists and historians, to the sociologist because of the social functions of the phenomenon, and the historians because, in some ways, this belief influenced in the process of the conquest (as it is shown in the testimonies of the indigenous chroniclers and chronicles).

NAHUALISM

The concept of nahualism is linked with the tonalism.

Tonalism is the relation that exist between and individual and an animal or natural phenomenon, which is their partner.

Frazer explains tonalism in the following way: "Amongst the Zapotecs of Central America, when a woman was about to be confined, her relations assembled in the hut, and began to draw on the floor figures of different animals, rubbing each one out as soon as it was completed. This went on till the moment of birth, and the figure that then remained sketched upon the ground was called the child's tona or second self. "When the child grew old enough, he procured the animal that represented him and took care of it, as it was believed that health and existence were bound up with that of the animal's, in fact that the death of both would occur simultaneously," or rather that when the animal died the man would die too." (Frazer, 1982. 768)

La Farge calls the prior phenomenon (tonalism) as nahualism of protection or spirit companion.

Termer points out that in Guatemala "El nagualismo consistía en que el espíritu protector era adquirido en la selva durante la 2ª. Infancia por medio de visiones durante el sueño, de manera que esta adquisición era considerada como algo absolutamente individual t que no requería regulación por parte del

Sacerdote, y hasta se ha llegado a señalar el séptimo año como época en la cual el niño adquiriría su espíritu protector” ” (Termer. 1957. 128).

La Farge considered that another type of **nahualism** exists and it is called **nahualism of transformation**, which consists in the transformation that a sorcerer suffer into an animal with the purpose of make damage. This occurs during night time.

Gustavo Correa affirms that the concept of **nahualism**, is one of the fundamental concepts that is related to the **evil spirit** in Guatemala.

Correa points out that the missionaries related this concept to the idea of the devil. It is evident to him that Spanish conqueror, missionaries and laypeople believed in the existence of these powers (in accordance with the data provided by the chroniclers).

He continues affirming that, the concept of nahualism related to the idea of the Devil was definitely incorporated to the catholic terminology in some indigenous dialects of Guatemala, in the K'anjobal of the Mam group, the devil is called **nahual**. In other regions, this term is used to refer to an "evil sorcerer," a type of spirit or ghost that comes from people transformed into animals, linked to witchcraft.

Correa points out that in other cases it was derived in a beneficial sense, in general, due to the idea of protection: in the concept of **animal – companion**.

Frazer indicates that between the indigenous people of Guatemala and Honduras, the **nahual** or **nagual** is an animate or inanimate object, generally of an animal that is placed in a relation of parallelism with a determined man, in this way the good or bad fortunes of man depend of the luck of the nahual. According to Frazer, and ancient writer indicated that many indigenous people of Guatemala “deceived by the **devil** they believe that their life depends on that of such or such animal (that has been chosen as their family spirit) and think that when the beast die, they will die too, so when it is hunted its hart will beat, that if it faints, they will lose consciousness”...

Between the Tzetales, (Chiapas) the beliefs differ from the most traditionals, because they say that if the person does not transform into an animal, but instead, they send the **lab** (nahual) to transform into an animal and to their task.

According to the Jakalteko people informants (Huhuit) one does not know their **nahual**, nor acquires their character, only the sorcerers that can transform into their own animal (**nahual**). The Jakalteko people use the term *Iqon Pican*: “the one that carries the soul”, to refer to a nahual. The ancient belief is that the exact moment in life where a human being links to the life of their Piscan-Cargador is at birth. But the actual youth think that it is at the time of baptism. This idea may come from the catholic religion which considers that a person is an animal until it is baptized.

Between the Jakalteko people, a person meant to be a **nahual** should possess certain innate qualities that are developed as they grow. The qualities are the following: to be stubborn, eager to help, meddlesome, aggressive, or great consumer of goods.

It is not certain if the nahual transforms into the animal-companion (*tona*) of a person or into a different animal.

Rigoberta Menchú says that “Every child is born with a nahual. The nahual is like a shadow, it is usually and animal...”

She adds: “The nahual is the representative of earth, the animal world, the sun and water...”

“Every animal has its human counterpart and if you hurt him, you hurt the animal too.”

Menchú continues “All the kingdoms which exist on this earth are related to man. Man is part of the natural world. There is not one world man and one for animals, they are part of the same one and lead parallel lives. We can see this in our surnames. Many of us have surnames which are the names of animals. *Quej*, meaning horse, for example.”

“We, indigenous people, have always hidden our identity and kept our secrets to ourselves. This is why we are discriminated against. We often find it hard to talk about ourselves because we know we must hide so much in order to preserve our Indigenous culture and prevent it being taken away from us. So I can only tell you very general thing about the nahual.”

“I can’t tell you what my nahual is, because it is one of our secrets” (Rigoberta Menchú, 1983. 18-20).

Social interferences of nahualism: In the system of beliefs in what the concept of nahual is very rooted (*jacaltenango*) it exerts its influence in each level of the society. In the level of the interpersonal relations the effect is

intensify the mutual distrust and discourage any wish of sharing with others. For example: If one increases their goods they must hide it to do not look arrogant, because arrogance is a punishable crime by the nahual hierarchy.

If a person gets sick, it is not informed to the neighbors until it is found out if the illness comes from “people” (nahual) or from God. Also, when the neighbors know about someone sick, they suspect that it may be a nahual because they harmed an animal that was eating their maize.

In additions, the concept of nahual states that in jakalteko society, a hierarchy of social classes, in the highest level are found the nahual with their innate supernatural powers and position of authority in the hierarchy, which gives them supernatural influence and power over regular people. If a Jakalteko gets related to ladino culture can be punished by the nahual because it has the divine authority to control. The customs and beliefs of ancestors are “good”, the modern values are bad and who adopts them can be punished by the nahual.

The (nahual) system justifies itself within its success as a social control method; that makes possible to keep alive the traditional customs and reassure the moral code of the group.

Another vantage of the nahual system is to give opportunity to people to express certain feeling and emotions instead of suppressing them, besides to ask to the nahual to curse to the enemy, society provides an accepted way to express frustrations without having to meddle oneself.

Brasseur de Bourboug and Brinton (Daniel), in their first studies about **nahualism**, mentioned the existence of a clandestine society established by priest of nahualims. Brinton said that it was a very powerful organization and geographically extensive, it include various ethnic groups and it had the revolutionary goal of overthrow the foreign power and reestablish the indigenous govern., Nowadays there exist clandestine organization of nahuals, but without revolutionary goals.

Villa Rojas (Alfonso), quotes espionage cases as nahual function between Tzeltales people (Chiapas).

The authors Fuentes and Gurzán (Tomo I Recordacion Florida) refer to nahualism in the following way: referring to indigenous people.

“...trataron de valerse del arte de los encantos y nagueles tomando en esta ocasión el demonio por el rey Quiché la forma de águila o quetzal, sumamente crecida, y por otros aquellos ahaus, varias formas de serpientes y otras sabandijas. Pero entre todas, aquella águila, que se vestía de hermosas dilatadas plumas verdes, adonada de resplandecientes joyas de oro y piedras finas volaba con extraño singular estruendo sobre el ejército, pero procurando siempre enderezar todo el empeño de su saña, contra el heroico caudillo D. Pedro de Alvarado...” (29).

Frazer indicates that Guatemalan indigenous people (at the moment of the conquest) were convinced that the death of their nahual implied their own. The legend states that in the first battles with the Spaniards on the Quetzaltenango plateau, nahuals of the indigenous chiefs fought under the shape of snakes. The nahual of the supreme chief was especially relevant, because it had the shape of a giant bird with shining green feather. The Spaniard captain, Pedro de Alvarado, killed the bird with a spear thrust and, at the same moment, the indigenous chief fell dead to the ground. (770)

Robert Carmack, quotes the following legend, taken from Recinos, about the nahual of the captain of the house Nijaib (quiche) Izquin Nijab, Kálel. He indicates that the captain came to be and “eagle” and, as a warrior, it carried bloody feathers of that bird. In that way, his nahual, animal protector, could transform was an eagle. In many times he transformed into that bird to succeed in war, flying to attack the enemy from air. “He noted that Alvarado was attacked from the quiche army. Izquin Nijaib marched to the front of the 2nd squadron, but although his transformation “as lighting” and “eagle”, he couldn’t get closer to Spaniards. According to indigenous people this were protected by a white dove and a white girl rounded by birds without feet. Every time that the **Izquin** get closer, this supernatural beings blinded him and then he fell to the ground. In the end, the eagle couldn’t dominate the dove. **Izquin** made peace signs and “*convidió a comer a todos los soldados españoles y les dieron a comer pájaros y huevos de la tierra*” (177).

The archbishop Pedro Cortez and Larraz in their work ***Descripción Geográfica Moral de la Diócesis de Goathemala*** (1770) describes various aspect about the life of such *Diócesis* in the last part of the 18th century. Among these aspects, they describe nahualism **a) of protection:** indicating that many indigenous people added an animal to their name (the name of their nahual or protectors)-

Furthermore, he indicates that every indigenous people possessed a nahual.

Regarding of the way that nahuals were chosen: “as soon as the children are born, they surround the huts with ashes, and they do not take them to be baptized until they see the trace of some animal in the ashes; upon seeing a trace, they dedicate the child to the animal and name it after it, and that animal then becomes their nahual.”

b) Of transformation: it indicates that “they have discovered indigenous women and men, sorcerers, who have confessed having a pact with the devil and say that they have turned into tigers, monkeys and goats.

Brenda Piccioto de Rosembaum when referring to nahualism of transformation indicates it can be three types:

1. Transformations of “corporal-liberation”, the heroes transform into animals and in that way get free of the imposed restriction by the human body, which strength and possibilities are limited in comparison with the ones of the animals. They can do, in this way, extraordinary feats.

Through this transformation, the individual impregnates, achieves or legitimize its power inside the group.

2. Transformations of “evasion of social regulations”. She indicates that most of the actual tales of nahualism are included here. These are transformations of individuals or members of a determined society, who in their animal shape, break the prohibitions and evade responsibilities.

In some occasions the power of transformation is achieved by associating with diabolical personas (snakes, the devil, owner of the land).

3. Accidental transformation. Here are included the cases in which the transformation is the result of an accidental experience that affect to the individual. Many times it is due to the ingestion of some contaminates or forbidden meal. (Brenda Piccioto de Rosembaum, 1983.202-206)

To the tzotziles people from Chiapas (Mexico), human nature has two souls: one the **ch’ulel**, indestructible, that continues existing after the death of the body, and the **Wayjel**, animal soul which medium is associated with the man in the nature and that is a must for its earthly life.

The seat of the **Ch’ulel** is the entire human body and that of the **Wayjel**, and jungle animal.

To this ethnic group (Mexican tzotziles) each person has a **Wayjel**, an animal that lives in the jungle or the land. According to its conception, the Wayjel manifest in connection with in darkness and night, although not necessarily, be a night animal.

They consider that a person cannot be blamed because of their **Wayjel**, which they relate since the day of their birth, because man is a creature of the world and in such there exist good and bad deities. They believe that God is who had demanded that way and the **Wayjel** lives in the way that He has said to every creature.

To the tzotziles people it is important to establish clearly if the soul of the animal links with the thirteen evil powers from above and those from “below”, not necessarily evil.

En tzotzil the word **Wayjel** has the same root as the verbs to sleep and to dream (it has the same meaning). The oneiric experiences relate with the **Wayjel** and interpret the dreams according with this belief. Therefore, communication with the deities and the dead occurs in dreams, it is through the **Wayjel**.

The date of birth determines which the Wayjel of a person is; the name that is given to the creature is linked to its **ch’ulel**. The name and the identity of the **Wayjel** are kept in secret, because if they are known the life of the human being is exposed. If an enemy knows which the Wayjel of the individual is, they can kill the corresponding animal.

Tzotziles believes that when man wishes meddling with earth, “the natural order” must be represented by nature creatures: it means the part of the human being that involves nature, their **Wayjel**. (Calixta Guiteras Holmes, 1986.231-2.34)

MEMORIAL DE SOLOLÁ (MEMORIAL DE TECPAN ATITLAN) OR ANNALS OF THE CAKCHIQUELS

This work, as its version of Adrián Recinos indicates, “Encloses the expression of beliefs, the synthesis of history and a reflection of the life of the Cakchiquel people” (Adrián Recinos. 1980.7).

Recinos also points out that this document reveals the customs of the inhabitants of indigenous American people in the period following the conquest, and it presents the mix between the civic-religious interest that the indigenous people had in the creation of the new political and economic entity

that was born from the coexistence of the conquerors and conquered (Recinos, 1980.8).

About the history of the cakchiquel manuscript and its authors. Recinos points out that it was composed in the end of the 16th century by many indigenous people, there is no doubt that many people were involved in the writing of the Memorial, which names appear in the manuscript.

The legendary selection that is found in the first part, represent the popular tradition conserved by many years and transmitted of generation in generation. A member of the Xahil family had the idea of choose the tradition and write it after the conquest, in its original language, with Spaniard alphabet.

In the second part, the narrative, the following individuals are listed as authors: Francisco Hernández Arana and Francisco Díaz, member of the Xahila family, descendants of the Oxhahu Tzil king.

I agree with Recinos when the points out that the Memorial does not dedicates a lot of space to the cosmogonist ideas, although it describes in few line the creation of man and confirms the ideas of the Popol Vuh abut the topic. He say in fable way that some periods of the heroic age in which are given cult to magic things. In this way, he shows the close relation of this people within nature.

His main contribution ends in the field of the history of Guatemala, particularly the indigenous vision of the conquest.

In the introduction of the Merorial de Sololá, Recinos refers to the way of calculate the time of the cakchiquel people: a calendar called **Cholquih**, which is alike to the Mayan calendar of 18 month and 20 days each.

Some names of the days of such calendar have caught my attention:

- 1- Imox: it means fish or lizard
- 5- Can: serpent
- 7- Queh: Deer
- 8- Ganel: Bunny
- 10- Tzi: Dog
- 1- Balam: Tiger or sorcerer
- 2- Tziquin: Bird
- 3- Ahmak: Owl (Recinos, 1980.32)

In the same introduction, when referring to the calculation of time, Recinos indicates that “the birth or people and general interest events

were registered and predicted according to this calendar” (Recinos, 1980.33)

He also points out that cakchiquel people named their children according to the day of the **Cholquin** that they were born, there were then kings with names of animal, which is the case of the last one: Cahí Imox (4 Imox): 4 fish or lizard.

The month also had their own animal names and meaning: as 2. Nayeb-tumuzuz: “they come when the first storms appear” (could be May) and they are flying some caterpillar called tamuzuz “flying ants” (zompopos).

3. Rub cab tuzumuz: 20. tumuzuz

11. Nayeb pach: First laying, first incubation, “time for brooding hens”.

12. Rucab pach: second laying.

13. Tzin kih: Season of the birds (Recinos, 1980. 33-34).

NAHUALISM PRESENT IN THE MEMORIAL DE SOLOLÁ OR ANNALS OF THE CAKCHIQUELS

As it has been mentioned before in the first part of this exposition, there are different types of nahualism:

1. Of protection or companion and
2. Of transformation

Both are found, in a special way, in the first part of the Memorial, which is considered legendary and contains the tradition of the cakchiquel people from generation in generation.

It starts mentioning the names of the main houses:

Gekaqueh (black vulture or buzzard); Baqaholá (“the one who makes children”) and Zibankihay (“house of *zibaque*”).

The names of the characters that gave birth to the biases are given, among them I highlight for their designations to **Tzanar y Guamoch**: that mean grackle and married quetzal.

The Memorial indicates that 4 families arrived in Tulan (place identified with Tila from Estado de Hidalgo, México), cakchiquel people:

There the caveki people appeared (who gave birth to the Totomany and Xurcah, chiefs of the crowned quiche house).

There the ahquehay appeared (the ones that covered their houses with deer skin) who gave birth to **Loch y Xet**.

In the same way the Ikomagi appeared (pages 47-48).

It is assumed that the facts that the houses and main character had animal names, implies that each one of them had a nahual of protection.

About the way that men was created (page 50) there is a series of important aspects that are interesting for this work: initially the men is created on earth, but it does not talk, nor walk, it did not had meat, nor blood. The creators then decide to build them with maize; food that was found in a place called **Paxil**, maize was cared by guardian animals: The Coyote and the Raven. It is said that in the moment when the Coyote was murdered and quartered it was found the maize between its remains. The animal named Tiuh-tiuh (small hawk) went to look for maize dough, it also carried the blood of tapir and snake, and with them the maize was mashed. Then the creator and the former made the meat of man. They created 12 males and 14 females; they talked, walked, and had blood and meat. They got married and multiplied; they had children. One of those men had 2 women.

As it is observed, the maize had protector animals and also the hawk was the messenger that carried to the gods the raw material for the creation of man.

It is important to point out that unlike Popol Vuh, in the Memorial de Sololá it is indicated that to form the maize dough it was added tapir and snake blood (Mexican influence). Probably this is due that the blood of these animals was considered to give special powers of protection. It is clear the narrow link that existed between this people and nature.

After the creation they went to Tulán gate, the Memorial says:

“Solo un murciélago guardaba las puertas de Tulán. Y allí fuimos engendrados y dados a luz...” (page 51).

The bat (zotz) is the symbol of the Cackchiquel ethnic group; its Totemic name was **zotzil**. The king of the cakchikels was given the title of Ahpop-Zotzil: Lord of the mat or Chief of the Zotziles.

In the prior paragraph it is clearly explained that the protector nahual of the cakchikel people was the bat (zotz). Nowadays, the symbol of the bat is present in the fabrics; the bat is particularly highlight in the Mayan costume of Sololá.

It is prompt to say that a tribe that established in Chiapas has the same name of **Zotziles**.

The Memorial mentions the groups that arrived in Tulán, among which are the Rabinal, the **Zotziles** (bats), **Tukuchéés**, **Tuhalay**, **Vuchabahay**, **Ah Chumilahay**, **Gumatz** (snakes), **Akahales** (the ones from the hives) and **Tucurú** (owls).

Recinos indicates that according to the Popol Vuh, the Cakchikel people understood **Zotziles**, **Tukuchés**, **Akajales**. (p. 54).

As it is observed, many indigenous groups, not only Cakchiquels, had protector nahuals.

Later on, the Memorial indicates that, when the Cakchiquel people arrived, they clad with bows and shields and were sent to fight in **Zuyvá**. He points out that they arrived accompanied by wasps and bumblebees, clouds, mist, mud, darkness and rain. Then the soothsayers arrived at the gates of Tulán. The **Guardabarranca** birds (known for its prolonged and melodious song) began to sing and said to them: "You will die, you will be defeated, I am your oracle" "Do you not ask mercy for yourselves? You will certainly be worthy of pity! Then the **Tucur** (owl o barn owl) perched at the top of a red tree also spoke, saying: "I am your oracle". To this owl, we responded: You are not our oracle as you claim. The messengers were also present in that place, which came to give us stone and wooden idols, as our ancestor in those times. Later another animal in the sky, known as the parrot (parakeet or small parrot), sang and also said: "I am you bad omen; you will die! But to this animal, we responded "be quiet! You are nothing more than a sign of summer, and after the rains cease, that is when you sing," Thus, we spoke. (p. 97).

In the prior description, nahualism of transformation can be found, it is considered that probably a sorcerer of another tribe or

an enemy group of the Cackchiquel people transformed into an animal with the purpose of discouraging them and make them treat in their progress.

Currently, there is a popular idiom that goes: “Cuando canta la lechuzas, el indio muere”, it means that the singing of that animal is bad omen.

Later on, the Memorial tells about the encounter of the Cackchiquel people with an enemy tribe, the Novoualcas (a tribe that lived from southern Veracruz to present-day Yucatán) and the Xulpiti. The document claims they defeated them and took their canoes to travel eastward. When they arrived at the city and the houses of the Zuyva, they began fighting. The text says: “*Fue terrible cuando nos encontramos entre las casa, era en verdad grande el estruendo. Levantóse una polvareda cuando llegamos, **plealeamos en sus casas, peleamos con sus perros, con sus aves de corral, peleamos con todos sus animales domésticos.** Atacamos una vez, atacamos hasta que fuimos derrotados. “**Unos caminaban por el cielo, otros andaban en la tierra, unos bajaban, otros subían, todos contra nosotros, demostrando su arte mágico y sus transformaciones**” (p. 61-62).*

This passage is one of the clearest examples in which nahualism of transformation can be found, so there is not much more to comment on.

Another passage that shows presence of magic is the one that narrates what happened when they arrived to the Volcán de Fuego; there they found the mountain guardian, a tiny elf named **Zaquicoxol**. It indicates that they did not fight against him, because he left. The text says that after he left they were deceived by the trees: “Oyeron hablar a los árboles y que los pájaros se llamaban a silbidos allá arriba. Y al oírlos exclamaron: ¿Qué es lo que oímos? ¡Quién eres tú?, dijeron. Pero era solamente el ruido de los árboles, eran los que chillan en el bosque, los tigres y los pájaros que silban. Por este motivo se le dio a aquel lugar el nombre de **Chitabal**” (the clamor) (p. 65-66).

The prior paragraph narrates a magic event proper of enchantment.

The Memorial de Sololá continues its story of adventure of the Cackchiquel people and other tribes. One of the passages that narrate their encounter with the **Pokomames** says as follows: “Pero siete tribus los observaban de lejos. Luego enviaron al animal **Zakbim** (comadreja) para que

fuera a espiarlos, y enviaron también a **Qoxahil y Qobakil** para que se pusieran un juego en sus artes de magia” (p. 69). The quoted passage is evidence of the personification that is attributed to the weasel and the magic powers of the characters.

The story of the Memorial continues, it indicates that they found the **Cavek** (the main tribe of the Quiché people), right there, under the huge pines, in the place called **Xinbal Xuk**. The singing of the quails was heard under the huge pines, **by the art of enchantment from the Cavek people**, Gagavitz and Zactecauh ask to them: “Who are you? What are they (the birds) saying? They asked. Loch and Xet answered: “They are our servants ¡oh Lord! And they are just saying their complaints” they said. The power of enchantment is also found in this passage.

Another of the passages that refers to the power of transformation, is the one that narrates that Gagavitz (one of the grandfathers), jumped into the water and he transformed into a feathered serpent, (Gucumatz o Kukulcán), an important deity of Mexican origin.

Another passages from the Memorial narrates how the fear that was caused by the tribes when it passed across the sky “como por encanto, el ave de plumas verdes (quetzal) y escucharon sus Fuertes graznidos” (p. 84).

Later on, the text narrates the destruction of the Quiché people by the Cackchiquel people:

“El choque fue verdaderamente terrible. Resonaban los alaridos, los gritos de guerra, las flautas, el redoble de los tambores y las caracolas, **mientras los guerreros ejecutaban sus actos de magia (¿transformaciones?)**. Ponto fueron derrotados los quichés, dejaron de pelear y fueron dispersados, aniquilados y muertos los quiches” (p. 107).

Almost in the end of the first part, near the year of the conquest, (1524), in 1512 the Memorial narrates that the animals got out of the forest; the doves passed over Yximxhé and caused terror.

In the same way, it also indicates that after 100 days the locust passed by. It is possible to think that the doves and the locust were considered as bad omen.

The second part of the Memorial, the narrative one, does not contain related aspects with the nahualism. It only mentions the arrival of the locust. It also contains the curious fact that in San Lucas Tolimán were born two castile

chickens; both of them walked and that their tail split in half (p. 189). This fact is considered bad omen in the indigenous thought.

Both in the first part as in the second one (although a bit less in this one), there are mentioned many proper people and place names corresponding to the ones of the animals. But with the purpose of not making this work longer, not all the examples will be quoted, only the ones that are considered signifier: The name of one of the warriors was Zakitzunun (white sparrow) (p. 73).

Also the Aphizotziles Lords, Qulavi Xochoch and Qulavi Cantí descendants of the Ztotziles:

Xoxhoxh : rattlesnake.

Cantí: snake

Snakes together

Tzununáa: Place denominated sparrow lagoon

Holom Balam: High mountain near of Yximché, that means "Tiger's head".

CONCLUSIONS

1. Nahualism constitutes an important aspect of the magic-religious thought of indigenous people.
2. Nahualism was present in the ethnic groups that the Spaniards found with their arrival in Guatemala. In some way, it influenced the conquest process.
3. Nahualism is present in the current ethnic groups of Guatemala.
4. In the Memorial de Sololá are found many cases of nahualism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended to do researches that determine the existence of nahualism, as well as other magic-religious phenomena in the different ethnic groups of Guatemala.
2. It is recommended to do researches about the indigenous literature of Guatemala.
3. To the researchers and “Ladinos” in general, it is recommended to get closer to the indigenous world and in a special way to the magic-religious, with utmost respect.
4. To the researches and social scientists get rid of, in somehow, of the “western criteria” to judge and interpret the indigenous cultures.

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INDIGENOUS ELEMENTS IN THE STORY “*LOS DE LA SANGRE DE IZTAYUB*”, written by Mario Monteforte Toledo

Norma García Mainieri

INTRODUCTION

Mario Monteforte Toledo was born in Guatemala in 1911. He is notary and lawyer graduated from the San Carlos de Guatemala University, he is also a doctor in Sociology graduated from National Autonomous University of Mexico. Besides his literature work, he has also written eight books about Political Sociology. His narrative work started in the novel **Analité** (Guatemala 1947) and **Entre la Piedra y la Cruz** (Mexico 1948). In 1950 appeared his stories **La cueva sin quietud** and in 1952 the novel **Donde acaban los caminos** appeared. In 1948 he published **Una manera de morir** and in 1962 **Llegaron del Mar**.

After long years of exile in Mexico he came back to Guatemala at the beginning of 1987 and had put on stage the literary works “El Santo de Fuego” and “La Noche de los Cascabeles”. The story “Los de la Sangre de Iztayub” belongs to the tales that are called by the author as land of indigenous people. His first drafts were written in New York, around the years of 1941 to 1944, but were published around 1950. The author himself expresses that he tried to write about indigenous people stripping off from a colonized point of view, and to reach it he lived together with indigenous people for three years, and he had a daughter whose name was Morena with an indigenous woman.

*Note: The author presented this work as a contribution at the VI International Symposium on Indigenous Latin American Literatures, held in Guatemala City from June 13 to 17, 1988.

1. Monteforte Toledo, Mario. “*Los de la Sangre Iztayub*” **Casi todos los cuentos**, Barral Editores, Barcelona, España, 1974, p. 101-112.

ANALYSIS OF THE STORY

I THEMATIC ANALYSIS

1. Central meaning.

The central significance of the story is about the survival of the values and the beliefs of indigenous people, in the way that this have been able to resist to centuries of misery and exploitation and eradication from the beginning of de Spaniard dominance to current imperialist dominance.

2. Complementary meanings.

In the complementary meanings are found:

The view of the conquest phenomenon through the defeated point of view, the process to the state integration that the indigenous Lords were in when the Spaniards arrived, the gory side of the conquest, and imposition of the Spanish language to the indigenous people, and racial and cultural mixing.

3. Underlying meanings.

As underlying meaning it is all around the text the positive valuation of the indigenous worldview and contraposition of the world view of the Spaniards first and then the ones of the Ladinos.

II FACTUAL LEVEL

1. Action

The actions that are narrated occur in the past, following a progressive chronologic order that is fragmented in the sequence number 3, in which units predominates the usage of simple present tense and perfect present tense. They are of external nature because they narrate the predictable and very few of them penetrate the interiority of the characters.

2. Characters

Thirteen individual characters and five collective ones appear in the seven sequences in which the text was divided for its analysis.

LIST OF THE CHARACTERS

(order of appearance)

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS

Sequence no.1

1. Ahkin

Sequence no. 2

2. Iztayub
3. Father Ximénez
4. King
5. Cohutá
6. Mother (of Iztayub and Cohutá)

Sequence no.3

7. Narrator

Sequence 4

8. Cahuec
9. Indigenous friend
10. Wife of the indigenous friend
11. Wife of Cahuec
12. Son of Cahuec

Sequence 7

13. Foreign wise man

COLECTIVE CHARACTERS

Sequence no. 1

1. Indigenous people

2. Spaniards

3. Indigenous women

Sequence no.2

4. Missionaries

5. Ahkines

3. Atmosphere

The atmosphere is given by the contrast between the indigenous and ladino culture, and the resistance of the first one to the reiterated attempts of the second one to totally submit it in the cultural plane throughout centuries.

III NARRATIVE SYNTAX

1. Syntax of the statement of the fable

For its analysis, the text was divided in ninety units or microsequences and in seven sequences.

The units or microsequences were numbered in the story from 1 to 90.

The sequence number 1 contains the units 1 to 14.

The sequence number 2 contains the units 15 to 40.

The sequence number 3 contains the units 41 to 49.

The sequences number 1 and 2 for its content amplitude almost acquire the dimension of microsequences. Both of them are linked together, although the temporary space between one and another is of 13 generation of Lords of Quiché (units 12 y 15, p. 103).

The sequences number 3, 4, 5 and 6 can be named as imbricated, because one links to the next one and so on (as a literary resource, it receives the technical name of Chinese box, it is a story inside another one, that is also inside another story).

The sequence number 3 (units 41 to 59, pages. 106 to 107) constitutes an ellipsis (it is omitted a whole historical period) and it helps as link to the remote temporary (XII generation of Lords of Quiché, represented by the characters of Iztayub and Cohuta from the sequence 2) and the temporary plane in which the protagonist narrator is placed (XX century, probably from the 50s to the 60s).

At the end of the sequence 3 (unit 49, p. 107) the protagonist narrator announces the story that narrates in sequence 4, as follows:

“Pero lo que quisiera olvidar es esta historia que voy a contar, porque además cuesta la sangre de un hombre de ahora, de hace muy poco tiempo. Y los hombres que hemos conocido han estado deslumbradoramente vivos, y aunque sea un ´poco, forman parte de nosotros mismos”.

With the sequence 4, which first part (units 50 to 55, p. 107 and 108) implies to aspects of the life of the protagonist narrator, it links to sequence 5 (units

56 to 173, p. 108 and 109) that refer to the circumstances in which the protagonist narrator meets Cahuec.

In the sequence 6 (units 60 to 73. P. 109 and 110) the protagonist narrator narrates the personality features and the strange life that Cahuec lives. It can also be seen as a link between sequence 5 and 7, in which other stories are also narrated.

The sequence 7 or core of the story, (microsequences 75 to 90) narrates the murders that Cahuec commits in order to protect the secret of the indigenous oracle and its posterior shooting as punishment for those murders.

2. Time

Discourse time is not parallel to fiction time, because the second one covers the centuries from the time of the conquest in Guatemala to the present time.

The chronological order of discourse, which starts with the description of the battles of the conquest, in the 16th century, (sequence 1), suffers an omission, skip or ellipsis when moving to the sequence 2, because this one starts referencing Iztayub, from the 13th generation of Lords of Quiché, and the attempts that are made by father Ximénez (this facts are historically placed at the beginning of the 18th century) to catechize, first to Iztayub and then to his brother Cotuhá, so they provide information about the oracle book of the people, symbol of the indigenous resistance to totally accept catholic religion and Spaniard culture.

The narrative corresponding to the remote past ends along with the sequence 2, when the mother of Iztayub and Cotuhá, who did tell father Ximénez what she remembers about the history of Quiché, is killed before revealing that her children rather became in stone so that they would not be able to speak.

The sequence 3, is placed in the 20th century, it contains general reflections of the protagonist narrator that constitutes a cessation of time or pause, at the end of such it is announced the story that will be narrated in the next sequence, sequence 4.

This story does not begin to be narrated immediately. It is preceded with a series of reflections about life circumstances of the protagonist narrator in one of the western populations (microsequences 50 to 55).

So the sequence 5 start, which contains the story of the indigenous friend of protagonist narrator (microsequences 56 to 59).

The sequence 6 constitutes another cessation of time or pause (it includes the microsequences 60 to 74) in which the protagonist narrator narrates the beginning and development of this friendship with Cahuec.

The most important part of the story starts in the sequence 7 and contains the microsequences 75 to 90. In this part the protagonist narrator narrates the story of Cahuec, the murders that he does, and his shooting as punishment, and the pain that he lives when his friend dies.

3. Vision

It refers to the narrator perspective, this means who perceives and how is perceived what is being narrated, and it may be objective or subjective.

In the story "*Los de la Sangre de Iztayub*" are found both perspectives, although the objective one predominates. For example, in the initial part of the narration (microsequence 1), an omniscient narrator narrates from an objective perspective, (that means with a lot of information of what was perceived) a battle between indigenous people and Spaniards.

Microsequence 1

"Los caballos brincaron sobre los ríos ensangrentados sobre los guerreros, sobre los matorrales tristes y secos del valle. Los que no murieron de arcabuz o de lanza se abrieron la carne con pedernales, hasta destripase el corazón con los dedos. Vastos alaridos ensombrecían la última tarde del combate. Había muerto el cacique, y los que aún antes solían labrar los campos para los señores huyeron hacia Hanualá e Ixtahuacán, y desde entonces son negros y sombríos en su ropa, en su piel y en su alma"².

Instead, the microsequences 50 and 52 can be characterized as subjective, because they inform about the perceiver, who is the protagonist narrator.

"Ejercía yo como abogado en una de las poblaciones de Occidente. Llevaba ya tres años pegado a aquellas pobres herederas defen-

*diendo casos absurdos y malviviendo de lo que me pagaban los indios: marranitos blancos, manojo de cebollas, cesta de huevos y a veces las bendiciones más vagas y más hermosas que haya recibido un blanco en mi país.*³

Ahora comprendo que mi permanencia en la sierra no era una evasión, sino al ánimo de preservar lo santo y lo bueno que da al hombre su mejor fisonomía. Con lentitud de cambio biológico adquirí la posición del indio frente a la vida, la única que le ha permitido mantenerse tal cual es a pesar de las castas y de los regímenes que han azotado al país de una a otra frontera”.⁴

In this story, the vision can also be denominated basically external, because it narrates what is perceptible and true, according to the law covered by Todorov: “*lo que dice el texto es cierto mientras no haya evidencia de lo contrario*”.

4. Narrative voice

This one is expressed by a protagonist narrator that narrates in first person and plays the main role in fiction. It is a protagonist narrator who narrates through free indirect discourse. From the moment that the narrator is identified we have also to recognize the existence of his “partner”, the one to whom it is addressed the discourse and is called “narratee”.

The narratee is not a real reader, the same way that narrator is not the author. This simultaneous appearance is just a case of general semiotics law according to which “I” and “you” (or rather sender and receiver of a statement) are always supportive. The functions of the narratee are several: “it constitutes a link between the narrator and the reader; it helps to determine the narration frame. It help to characterize the narrator and highlights some topics, it raises intrigue and becomes the spokesman of moral in the story”.⁵

3 Ibid. p. 107.

4 Ibid. p. 108.

5 Todorov, Tzvetan. “¿Qué es el estructuralismo? Poética. Buenos Aires. Ed. Losada, 1975. p. 78.

CONCLUSIONS

The story “Los de la Sangre de Iztayub” can be considered as the best story written by Mario Monteforte Toledo among the thematic that he himself calls stories of the land of the indigenous people.

It can be called as story – poem, for its beauty in language used and the internal and external rhythm of the word that are linking the sequences musically, as in the second story, that narrates the discovery of sacred books of Quiché people, and inserts three times, in the manner of a liturgical ritornello, the words “And the father Ximénez knew it”, symbolizing with those words that the role they played in the historical process of Guatemala, religion and priests.

When writing this story, Mario Monteforte Toledo, places himself as a precursor of the most modern Anthropology that values the cultural resistance as a way of preserving group identity and personal dignity facing poverty, overpowering and progress of cultural forms that are strange and reifying, which are confusing and depersonalize, and corrupts the necessary solidarity to survive.⁶

Additionally, almost thirty years before it happened, in a poetical way, it alludes to the incorporation of the Guatemalan indigenous ethnic groups to the revolutionary popular fight, as it has been happening since the 1970s.

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TRADITIONAL INDIGENOUS GUATEMALAN FOLKTALES WITH WESTERN ROOTS

Celso A. Lara Figueroa.

0. INTRODUCTION

In a monographic issue of **Traditions of Guatemala** dedicated to highlight the indigenous literature of the country it cannot be ignored the oral testimonies collected between Guatemalan indigenous people, that are the roots of which it is obvious the westerns origins, transplanted to this land probably since the 16th century, but that, in the heat of the historical process, they have become authentic patrimony of the sociocultural groups that record them through their oral tradition.

In this regard, we start from a basic premise: the actual Guatemalan popular culture, and in consequence its literature of a traditional nature, it is a historical product, with a centered historical time incorporated that makes it current,¹ becoming it in its sources of origin in the fundamental substrate that articulates it.²

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1. The category of historical time incorporated the value of the usage in the field of popular culture; it is very enlightening in terms of the precise understanding of the folkloric phenomenon and the particular historical process which origins it. See, about it, Antonio Erazo Fuentes. **Sobre la preservación de valores de uso del carácter folklórico:** (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, 1976), p. 39. In the same ways, as it is recognized by Boris Putílov, the folklore in each region or sociocultural group “se basa en el reconocimiento de su profunda especificidad como esfera del arte que se forma y se desarrolla históricamente. Entre los rasgos más importantes y permanentes del folklor están de carácter sintético y la naturaleza colectiva del mismo.” Boris Putílov, “Tipología de la naturaleza el folklor y su especificidad”, en **Temas**, 1987 [12]: 125). In addition, as Octavio Iani highlights “La cultura no es inocente. Todas las expresiones culturales, que incluyen valores, formas de pensar y de decir, modos de vivir y de trabajar, se crean y recrean en la trama de las relaciones sociales. Las diversidades y los antagonismo sociales, políticos y económicos se manifiestan también en el ámbito de la cultura”. Octavio Iani, “Cultura y Democracia”, en **Casa de las Américas**, 1986. (159) 28 **Vid.** Also, Luis Brito García, “Cultura, contracultura y marginalidad” en **Nueva Sociedad**, 1984 (73): 38-47, en particular, p. 39-42.

In this way, popular culture of the distinct ethnic groups currently is shown in a globalizing operating system, as a product of the historical development, with combined elements and settled in a non - systematic way, in the sense that it is indicated by Antonio Gramsci³, and within which it is possible to find the foundation of the keys of Guatemalan popular culture, that has its foundation in orality, sociocultural institutions and popular religiosity, this resulted in the development of their own distinct identity as a people.⁴ Although the topic is broad and resonates widely, making it difficult to address in such a limited space, our intention is merely to outline some general guidelines that should be considered as preliminary ideas, presented in a concise synthesis, with the prospect of developing a more extensive study.

1. CONSOLIDATION OF GUATEMALAN CULTURE

We share George Foster's perspective that the culture of Hispanic America has been shaped by the gradual incorporation of so-

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2. For further information on this matter, Vid. Celso A. Lara Figueroa. **Algunos Problemas Teóricos de la Literatura oral en Centroamérica**. This is a contribution presented at the second *Reunión de expertos sobre el Rescate de las tradiciones Orales de América Latina y el Caribe*, (La Habana, Cuba: marzo de 1989), p. 2 – 5.
 3. Antonio Gramsci, "Observaciones sobre Folklore" en **Antología** (México: 21st century Editores, 1978) p. 448 – 491. See also, L.M. Lombardi Satriani. "Observaciones Gramscianas sobre el folklore. De los pintoresco a la contraposición", en **Antropología cultural** (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1975) p. 6 – 27 y Néstor García Cancilini, "Gramsci y las culturas populares de América Latina, en *Temas*, 1986 (10): 5:20.
 4. For further information on this matter, see also. Celso A. Lara Figueroa, **op. Cit.**, 1989. P. 7 – 11; from the same autor, "Bases teóricas para el estudio de la literatura popular" en **Diario La Hora**, 1987 (25 – 26 de abril: 2/11); Imelda Vega Centeno. **Aprismo Popular: mito, cultura e historia** (segunda edición) (Lima Perú: Editorial Tarea, 1986), p. 85 – 93 y 121 – 136; Esteban Emilio Monseny "Raíces de la oralidad indígena y criolla" en **Oralidad en la literatura y literatura de la Oralidad** (Venezuela: Cuadernos de la Investigación, Instituto Universitario Pedagógico Experimental, 1985), p. 12 – 30. Additionally, Vid. Imelda Vega Centeno "Tradición Oral y discurso popular andino" en **Oralidad**, 1988 (1): 51-58, and the already classic study done by Jan Vansina, **La Tradición Oral** (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1968); Finally, we share the opinion of the specialist from the *I Reunión de expertos sobre el Rescate de las tradiciones Orales*, who were summoned by the UNESCO and reunited in Habana, Cuba, in July, 1986, in the sense that orality is in Latin America a expression of "carácter personalísimo y tradicional de los pueblos de América Latina" and that "hablar de Oralidad en América Latina, de las posibilidades teóricas y metodológicas es, en fin de cuentas reconocernos en nuestras propias memorias colectivas; es, en última instancia, aceptar que los pueblos con amnesia histórica son pueblos sin futuro". In **Oralidad**, 1988 (1):63.

ciocultural elements that, through a process of syncretism, have been added to the indigenous cultural foundation since the 15th century. With the arrival of Europeans in the New World, these elements initially contributed to the emergence of a culture of conquest.⁵

That means that the pre-Hispanic indigenous cultural substratum remains firmly present in all social expression on which western culture was established in the 16th century. From this point onward, as the colonial process consolidates itself socioeconomically with its own particularities in the New World, cultural elements take on a more or less autonomous identity and undergo an intense transformation. Over time, they become distinct cultural phenomena, infused with new, re-elaborated, and restructured meanings. In this process, the cultural elements produced by different societies both in conflict and in contact, ultimately come to reflect the values, worldview, and way of life of the emerging society. These elements are reinterpreted within the framework of the new socioeconomic and cultural reality. The original social meanings blend with the newly introduced ones, acquiring their own significance and remaining deeply relevant in contemporary society.

Within this context, we hold that the popular culture of Guatemala, which originates from the ancient pre-Hispanic indigenous cultural patterns prior to the 16th century, and Europeans and African origins later to this century, starts to take hold and collect the latter of

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- 5 We rely on the deep studies by George Foster, in particular, **Cultura y Conquista** (México – Xalapa: Universidad de Veracruz, 1962). P. 53 – 61. And **passim**, about the cultural mix of America and Mesoamerica.
- 6 See also, Roberto Días Castillo, “Influencia ibérica en cultura popular de América Latina” in **Cultura Popular y Lucha de Clases** (La Habana – Cuba: Cuadernos Casa de las Américas, 1989) p. 50 – 77.
- 7 About the social and economic development of the colonial period in the history of Guatemala, high quality works have been written in different qualities: depending on the effect we want to point out, we mainly consult: Severo Martínez Pelaéz, **La Patria del Criollo** (sexta edición) (San José de Costa Rica: EDUCA. 1979, p. 197-256; 260-417 y **pasim**; André Sain-Lú. **Condición Colonial y conciencia criolla en Guatemala, 1524-1821** (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1978), p. 129-150 y 173-192. About the specific topic, see: Edelberto Cifuentes y Celso A. Lara Figueroa. **La Formación del Nacionalismo en Guatemala**. Contribution that was presente at the I *Seminario Internacional de Historia Latinoamericana* (Lima-Perú; October, 1987). Additionally about the conformation of the syncretism of indigenous culture, Vid. Carlos Rafael Cabarrús, **La Cosmovisión Kéqchí en Proceso de Cambio**. (San Salvador, El Salvador: UCA editores, 1979, p. 25-83 and Ricardo Falla, **Esa Muerte que nos hace vivir** (San Salvador, El Salvador: UCA Editores, 1986), p. 97-123.

naturalization as we know it, in the second decade of the 18th century. This process was influenced by various factors, including the sociocultural characteristics that defined Spain during that period and the relative autonomy that Hispanic colonies had begun to experience, particularly as the Habsburg dynasty in Spain was nearing its decline.

As a result, indigenous cultural institutions along with the Spaniards ones in process of folklorization, gradually acquired a distinct identity (integrating their own historical timeline), and it culminated in the 18th century. As evidenced by the sharp observations of Archbishop Pedro Cortéz y Larraz in the latter half of the century. It provides undeniable proof of the deep syncretism that had taken hold in Guatemalan culture. Similarly, Jesús García Añoveros' analysis of ***Descripción Geográfica y Moral del Reino de Guatemala***, a work by the illustrious Archbishop highlights that by the late 18th century, the key element of popular culture of Guatemala, both social and spiritual way, had already taken shape and outlined in their fundamentals, particularly in the sociocultural institutions.¹⁰

However, the final consolidation of Guatemalan culture occurred in the 19th century, between 1837 and 1871, with the foundation of the Republic of Guatemala under Rafael Carrera and the subsequent development of the conservative regime in the country.¹⁰ It must be remembered that, by the time of this period, the economic foundation

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7. See, among others, José- L. Asián Peña. **Manual de Historia de España** (Novena edición) (Barcelona-España: Casa Editorial Bosh, 1967), p. 204 – 234; Carl Gimber. **La Hegemonía Española** (Madrid: Ediciones Diamon, Manuel Tamayo, 1968), p. 136-155; J. Vicens Vives. **Historia Social y Económica de España y América** Tomo III (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1977), 463-485 y pasim, y Jonh Lynch. **España Bajo Los Austrias. España y América (1598-1700)** (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1972), p. 273-322.
 8. Pedro Cortés y Larraz. *Descripción Geográfico-Moral de la Diócesis de Guatemala*. (Guatemala: Biblioteca Goathemala. Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, 1958).
 9. Jesús María García Añoveros. **Población y Estado sociorreligioso de la Diócesis de Guatemala en el último tercio del siglo XVIII** (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1987), p. 58-76 y 127-192. See, among others, Cristina Ziberman de Luján. **Aspectos Socioeconómicos del Traslado de la Ciudad de Guatemala (1773-1783)** (Guatemala: Ediciones de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1987), p. 131-143.
 10. The historical process of the conservative regime in Guatemala has not been widely studied. However, there is research about it, J. C. Pinto Soria. **Centroamérica de la colonia al Estado Nacional (1800-1840)** (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1986), p. 169-280, como antecedente; en torno al periodo en general, J. Antonio Villacorta.

was mainly sustained by the exploitation of cochineal or grana, a natural dye of which Guatemala was the main exporter to the industrialized countries of Central Europe, particularly the Netherlands and England.

The cochineal or grana, was a “backyard” crop and it had its highest concentration in the mestizo and ladino regions of eastern Guatemala, as well as in the indigenous-populated central highlands of the country. Since the cultivation methods of cochineal did not allow for the use of large land extensions, ancestral communal lands, which were under the control of indigenous municipalities and *parcialidades*, continued to thrive and even expanded, eventually constituting 60% of the productive land.¹¹

It is important to point out that during these forty years of Guatemalan history the economic foundation rested primarily on poor mestizos. The indigenous groups in their different ethnic groups, besides the agricultural labor in *obrajes* and farms, provided everyday goods to centers of power, particularly to the *Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción*, and contributed with distinct taxes to sustain the republic. Territorially, they were pushed to the western and northern highlands of Guatemala, which is why their sociocultural institutions strengthened with a relative degree of autonomy during the ongoing syncretic process from previous centuries. These elements have persisted into the present, embedded in Guatemalan popular culture.

Thus, their social institutions such as *cofradías* (religious brotherhoods), *morerías* (traditional dance and theater groups), and municipal organizations; along with their economic systems, including traditional farming and trade practices, and their spiritual expressions—music, literature,

Historia de la República de Guatemala (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1960), p. 207-299 y Fernando Gonzáles Dávion. **Guatemala, 1500-1970**. (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1987. For more specific aspects regarding the economic – social topic, see, J. C. Cambranes, **Desarrollo económico y social de Guatemala, 1865-1885** (Guatemala: IIES.USAC 1975) p. 77-112 y passim, y Antonio Vásquez. **Consideraciones sobre la destrucción de la propiedad comunal en Guatemala, 1850-1871** (Guatemala: Escuela de Historia, USAC, tesis, 1980). Related to the indigenous state during this period see, Jim Handy. **Gift of the Devil. A History of Guatemala**. Canada: Between the lines press, 1984), p. 35-57; Cifuentes y Lara, *op. cit.* p. 9-11 and Edna González Camago. **Surgimiento del Estado de los Altos durante el régimen de Rafael Carrera**. (Guatemala: Escuela de Historia, USAC, tesis, 1983), p. 61-68.

11. Antonio Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 79-83.

dance and theater, end up becoming in the fundamental modules in the current Guatemalan popular culture. That is why we can assure that, the elements contributed by the pre-Hispanic world, as well as the ones contributed by the western world, added to the vestige of culture of African origin, ultimately form the symbiotic, syncretic, and dialectical melting pot that the culture of Guatemala's ethnic groups represents today. Thus, the conservative period represents the definitive formation of the current Guatemalan popular culture.¹²

On the other hand, it is important to consider that, starting in 1871, Indigenous communities were forced by the very economic laws of liberalism and the export-driven economy to work on coffee plantations. At the same time, efforts were made to dismantle the specificity of their syncretic culture by disrupting much of their communal economy. However, by this point, the indigenous popular culture was already fully formed. It was during this period that their sociocultural institutions became even stronger as centers of resistance and reservoirs of self-affirmation within their collective memory. Since then, these institutions have remained, albeit modified by the unequal economic development of the national society.

In this sense, the indigenous and Guatemalan popular culture in general cannot be defined only by its pre-Hispanic content without considering the contributions of the western world that modified this culture since the 16th century, in the same way that it cannot be defined only from the perspective of the Spaniard incursion in 1524. In his way, when it is analyzed critically, many elements of the Guatemalan indigenous popular culture

12. For the study of the origin and the sources of folklore of Guatemala and its socio-spatial distribution in Guatemala, see, Celso A. Lara Figueroa, "Origen y dispersión del folklore guatemalteco", in **La Tradición Popular** 1980 (29/30): 2-16 and from the same author, "Carrera y los Fundamentos de la identidad cultural guatemalteca" in **Suplemento Cultural, Diario La Hora** (Guatemala: sábado 31 de marzo de 1984), p. 7 and Cifuentes y Lara, **op. cit.**

13. To understand the liberal regime in Guatemala, see, among others, J. C. Cambranes. **Café y Campesinos en Guatemala, 1857-97**. (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1895). P. 125-163, Fernando González Dávila. **El Régimen Liberal en Guatemala (1871-1944)**, especially p. 20-27; Hubert Miller, **La Iglesia y el Estado en Guatemala, 1871-85** (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1976), p. 108-127 and passim.; Francisco Lainfiesta. **Apuntes para la Historia de Guatemala** (Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra, 1975), p. 35-144 and for a global analysis of the 19th-century positivism in Latin America, see, Beatriz González Stephan **La Historiografía literaria del liberalismo hispanoamericano del siglo XIX**. (La Habana-Cuba: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1987), p- 153-176.

incorporate western features, resulting in an introjection within their cultural sphere, thus becoming a fundamental expression of the worldview and way of life of contemporary Guatemalan ethnic groups.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in this long historical process, the violent insertion of capitalism into Guatemalan agriculture after the 1960s, as well as the systematic penetration of non-Catholic fundamentalist religious sects. These influences have not only altered the content but also the deep structures of the mythical-symbolic thought within the traditional popular culture of Guatemala.

2. THE POPULAR GUATEMALAN LITERATURE, ITS INDIGENOUS BRANCH

Traditional popular literature is not far from the historical process that was previously presented. While its evolution is more specific in terms of formative cultural elements, its final expression is a conjunction of social and aesthetic values that underscore this same historical process.¹⁴

Alongside myths of ancient pre-Hispanic ancestry there are legends and tales of western origin –such as those offered here and African origins – characters such as Anansi of Livingston, Izabal, or some variants of *Tío Conejo* and *Tío Coyote* from the central highlands-, that amalgamated and fused into the current indigenous culture, allow us to establish the complete context of its authentic orality.

Regarding positivist thinking about indigenous culture, see, Edgar Barillas, **El “Problema del Indio” durante la época Liberal**. (Guatemala: Escuela de Historia, IIHAA, USAC, 1988), p. 40-79; Héctor Roberto Rosada Granados, **Indios y Ladinos** (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1987), p. 163-180 and Jorge Hugo Zelaya Azurdia **La Ladinización como objeto de estudio de la Antropología de la Ocupación en Guatemala**. (Guatemala: Escuela de Historia, tesis, 1989), p. 87-100 and *passim*.

14. Few things have been written about syncretic nature of Guatemalan popular literature. However it can be inferred from the systematic studies done by the author during long years and published by CEFOL. Especially see, Celso A. Lara Figueroa, **Interculturalidad en la poesía tradicional de Guatemala**. Which is a contribution presented at the *Seminario, Encuentro Caribe: Literatura y sociedad en el Caribe, crisis, identidad y diálogo*. (San José, Costa Rica, agosto, 1988). p. 20-33.

2.1 About Traditional Tales

Six tales published here, are narratives collected in the indigenous areas of Quiché, Cackchiquel, Mam, and Aguacataca. Although fragmentarily, this oral stories proved what have been stated in previous paragraphs. Some of them were collected in their original languages and other in Spanish.¹⁶ Although the types and motifs contained therein are clearly western in nature, their current function within the ethnic groups that carry them is profound, and they possess the same value – although not the same internal hierarchy- as the stories from the pre-Hispanic world. They contribute to shaping the current validity of their conception of the world and of life in a comprehensive way. In other words, they fulfill and endoculturalizing function in indigenous society. Without being mythical elements, they are necessarily part of the literary environment of regional ethnic configuration in which they are recreated.

We highlight that these tales **are not all the complete** popular indigenous literature, but it is part of it. To dive deep in these literature the traditional plots in popular literature must be analyzed in a holistic way, as well as the orality in general of an indigenous region, examining with the bearers themselves the way in which these stories are hierarchized within society, their relation with the ancestral mythical stories and with other

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15. The tales that were published here were directly collected by the author in during different research travels during the years of 1978, 1980, and 1985, except the tale no. 2 that was collected by Antonia Reyes Prado in 1981, and the tale no. 6 that was collected by Roberto Robles in 1987. The respective documentation is saved in the files of the literary folklore area of CEFOL-USAC, where they can be consulted. On the other hand, by means of space the technical data about the life of the informants, collected materials, social environment, and original recording are not included, but can be consulted, also in the files of the literary folklore area of CEFOL.
 16. Except for the tales no. 1 and 3, the rest of them were collected in indigenous languages, such as: Quiché, Mam and Cackchiquel. The translation into Spanish was made by the professor Alfonso Cortés, Bilingual Education Teacher, (No. 2 and 5) from PRONEBI, Ministry of Education and Hugo Fidel Sacor from *Instituto de Antropología e Historia* (No. 4 and 6). The Spanish versions were revised by the author along with the translators. The transcription and re-transcriptions of the final versions that were published here were made by the author with the collaboration of Julio Taracena, Antropology student in *Escuela de Historia* in USAC, who cooperates **ad honorem** in the literary folklore area of CEFOL as research assistant.

expressions of popular culture.¹⁷ However, these samples are used as an example for what we are trying to demonstrate.

In the same sense of thinking, we must highlight that the dissection of culture, moreover, it is artificial. It cannot be divided between indigenous culture –the least popular– and its western, indigenous, black and contemporary elements, without running the risk of mixing it. We consider that culture works as a whole, within a dynamic process of adaptation to the current social practice, that the social groups that carry it develop it themselves, based on their specific historical development.

In the tales that were published here, the version No.1 is a beautiful example of morality tale, where it even appears in a syncretic way “*las comadres de los cerros*” [Housewives from the hills], that are very linked to the cultural symbiosis that we are highlighting.¹⁸

In the tale no. 2, syncretism of Guatemalan popular culture is also shown clearly. The theme that appears in this tale is very interesting, as it has also been collected between the Ixiles and Chortís variants from eastern Guatemala,¹⁹ that are linked with animal function and its relation with World God and man.

The version No. 3 constitutes in one of the most beautiful and best narrated tales that we have ever collected in Guatemala. This version has a sublimely magical, tertiary magic. We have also found a

17. Few work has been made about this branch of research. See about it, Claudia Dary Fuentes, **Introducción a la etno-taconomía de la tradición oral: Historia ejemplo y plática o conversación entre los cackchiqueles de Comalapa, Chimaltenango.** (Guatemala: ms., inédito, 1985) and Celso A. Lara Figueroa. **Cuentos y leyendas populares de Huehuetenango** (Guatemala: ms., en preparación).

18. See about the owners of the hills, Gustavo Correa, **El espíritu del mal en Guatemala** (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1955), p. 59-60. The mention of the author in the case of “*la comadre de los cerros*” is very important, because it indicates the relation between popular religiosity and orality.

19. Among Ixil people, it was reported by the *Instituto Lingüístico de Verano* (ed.) **Según Nuestros Antepasados.... Textos folklóricos de Guatemala y Honduras** (Guatemala: ILV, 1972), p. 17, and among Chortí people, it was reported by Lilly de John Osborne, **Folklore y Leyendas de Guatemala** (Guatemala: Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, 1959), p. 39.

reported variant for the Tzurhujil people by Jaime Búcaro Moraga, and other one for the Quiche people from *Momostenango* by Carlos H. García B.²⁰

The topics covered are universal; they appear between the motives and types of Thompson and reviewed among other non - western cultures.²¹ The type was collected by Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez between Mayan people from Yucatán, Mexico and Marta Blache between Guaraní people from Paraguay.²² In this last three tales (no. 4, 5 and 6), we basically find esthetic values with western roots that have also been reported for the coast and eastern Guatemala.²³

Space limitations prevent us from analyzing these stories in greater depth, which, we insist, are quite fragmentary within the indigenous literature of western origins in Guatemala.

Finally, suffice it to say that one of the most pressing concerns about these stories is to verify the validity of these stories within the same ethnic groups with which they were collected, after the catastrophe suffered by the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s. As we pointed out in another work, we believe that since then the inter- and intra- ethnic relations have intensified even further, as well as it had deepened the hard crisis that Guatemalan ethnic groups are facing in the socioeconomic level. With no

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20. Among Tzutuhil people, it was reported by Jaime Búcaro Moraga, "Semana Santa en Santiago Atitlán (costumbres y ceremonias)" in **Tradiciones de Guatemala**, 1979 (11/12): 208-210, and among Quiché people, it was reported by Carlos Humberto García B. (Guatemala: Instituto Indigenista Nacional, ms., document No. 315).
 21. Stith Thompson. **El Cuento Folklórico** (Caracas – Venezuela: Ediciones de la Biblioteca de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1972), p. 693-705 and Ramón D. Perés. **La Leyenda y el cuento populares** (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, 1959. See the first part, referring to Egypt, China, Persia and Japan).
 22. Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez, "Cuento, ejemplo y conversación entre Los Mayas de Yucatán" in **Ethnica**, 1982 (18): 99-100 and Martha Blache, "Literatura oral Guaranítica" in **Ethnica**, 1982 (18): 19.
 23. See, Celso A. Lara Figueroa. **Cuentos Populares de Guatemala, primera serie**. (Guatemala: Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, 1982) p. 11-67.
 24. Celso A. Lara Figueroa, "Literatura Popular de Huehuetenango, Guatemala. Una muestra" in **La Tradición Popular** 1988, (68/69): 1-2.

doubt, that it has definitely affected its basic orality. However, in a hypothetical level, we dare to affirm that its essence is still strong.

To conclude we want to address that these tales are part of a deep systematic reflex of the history of the ethnic groups of Guatemala, and its western motives are and intrinsic part of its literature and orality, the essence of their specificity as a nation and as a people.

2.2 THE FOLKTALES*

1. THE UNGRATEFUL WOMAN AND THE DEVIL

““They say – and it must be true – that there once was a woman, but she was the kind of woman who liked nothing at all, and no one could understand her temper: if there were children, she hated them, if the birds sang, that would make her furious, she did not like hearing the birds sing, she was a truly intolerable person: she liked nothing at all. One day she said:

“No, I’m going to move out from the city, I’m going to live in the hills, where I can hear nothing, because I’m tired, I do not like music, I do not like anything at all, I better go to a lonely place.”

And she moved to the hills to look for a place to build her shack, but she did not like anything, she arrived to a place and was going to start to make it, when she heard the river, the sound of the river could be heard! “No way! How boring to hear the river all day long. No, I’m not doing it here.”

She went somewhere else and again: she did not like it. Then she came back and said:

“But I cannot live without water, I have to drink water, I have to wash my clothes. Well, even if it is here by the river, the only sound will be the river flowing. No kids screaming, no singings, nothing at all.”

So there she built her sack by the river bank. Once the shack was finished, all by her own hands, she had cut leaves, chopped Monaca palms, even felled trees to set up the post for her shack, and she built it strong and sturdy. When her shack was finally dome, she began to think:

“Oh, but here is so lonely, the tiger is going to come and it’s going to eat me! What do I do? There are a lot of trees, and a lot of leaves falling, I better do a bonfire at six o’clock, so when the tiger arrives, he can feel the heat and go away, because tigers are afraid of fire” she said to herself.

*Translator’s note: This is the first known English translation for all of the Guatemalan folktales that were collected from oral tradition. Care has been taken to preserve the tone, structure, and folkloric features of the original. Onomatopoeic expressions and cultural references have been retained in their original form where no suitable English equivalent exists.

So she came and went to get her clothes and stayed in the shack, gathered some fallen leaves, made the bonfire and then lit it, and once it had burned out, she lay down to sleep.

“I will sleep quietly tonight, because here my peacefulness will be protected. My fortune will come here.”

God knows what she called “fortune” but she continued:

“My fortune will come here, my luck is going to be here.”

The next day she went to sleep early, and then the next day she went to the village to buy things to make breakfast. She arrives to a store and said:

“Miss, can I have bread, coffee, sugar and cheese?”

That was what she bought. When she came back with her basket she made breakfast and then ate it. In the evening she went to the river to wash her clothes. She was washing her clothes when a little lump, a wee little man, appeared to her, he started growing, and growing, and growing until his head disappeared into the clouds. Then she just stared at him and said:

“Ha! Do you think I’m afraid of you? Well, I’m not. I know who this is, this is the *comadre**. It is because I have been here and haven’t greeted her, so now she is trying to scare me. No, I’m not afraid of you, – she said to the mountains – tomorrow I’m going to the store and buy firecrackers, I’m also bringing pumice, candles and I’m going to greet you.”

With that, the little man began to become smaller, and smaller until he disappeared into the ground. Anyways, the next day the woman went to the plaza:

“Miss – the one from the store – this much of coffee and sugar.”

“Yes ma’am” – the young lady said to her.

“I want firecrackers, candles and pumice.”

“Alright” – said the young lady and packed everything for her.

Then, a little white *chuchito*, with curly fur, stuck to her, and she did not realize of it.

When she entered into her shack, the *chuchito* began to wag its tail.

**Comadre* is a close female friend, often a godmother or someone with strong social and spiritual ties to the speaker.

**Chuchito*: Guatemalan slang for little puppy.

“Oh! What is this? Where did you come from? Why did you follow me?”

“I don’t like animals, for now I’m going to let you stay here, but tomorrow I’m going to sell you.”

And she left the *chuchito* in the patio.

“If the tiger comes, it will eat you.” Then she went to sleep. So she lit the bonfire and fall asleep. When midnight arrived, the shack began to thunder. Brrr! It was dark, dark when a huge black animal arrived, black as night, sparking from its horns, mouth and tail: “*Tucún, Tucún, Tucún.*” Then the *chuchito* replied:

“*Larí, larí, larí, jajay*, it is not here!

A little while later: “*Tucún, tucún, tucún!*”

“*Larí, larí, larí, jajay*, it is not here!

Then she said:

“Look at that shameless *chucho**, it didn’t let my fortune in.”

“Oh, but tomorrow I’m going to kill it”

A little while later: “*Tucún, tucún, tucún!*”

“*Larí, larí, larí, jajay*, it is not here!”

“Look at that shameless *chucho*” – she said from her bed.

The huge animal went away, sparking from all of its body and she said:

“It didn’t let my fortune in.”

But sleep overcame her and she fell asleep.

Early next day, she said to the *chuchito*:

“Look at that shameless ***chucho***, that’s why you came, so you won’t let my fortune in. Wait a second.” She got ready and with her basket she went to bring breakfast, she carried the dog in her arms, even though she didn’t like to carry it that way. When she arrived to the store she said:

**Chucho*: Guatemalan slang for dog.

“Miss, won’t you buy me this little puppy?”

“Oh, what a cute *chuchito* – said the young lady – I believe I will buy it, how much do you want for it?”

“Bread, coffee, sugar and cheese.”

“With pleasure, ma’am.”

Then her basket was full because the dog was worth it.

Then she came and said to her:

“Look, miss, please put a chain on that dog, because if you don’t he is going to follow me back home and I don’t want it in my house.”

So the young lady opened the glass cabinet, takes out a precious chain and tied it to the dog, then gave it milk and the *chuchito* was so happy. Then she left happily with all her things because nothing was charged for them.

In the evening, she said:

“Oh! Tonight my fortune will come in because I already left that shameless *chucho* that have gotten into my house.”

During the night she lit the bonfire for the tiger, and later she fell asleep quite satisfied, when it was midnight, it started to thunder again and the dark, dark was illuminated by the sparks of that huge animal. “*Tucún, tucún, tucún*”.

“*Larí, larí, larí, jajay*, it is not here!” – the puppy-.

“Look at that shameless *chucho*! It came back, he must’ve broken the chain, but tomorrow I’m killing it. Now, if you don’t see it anymore, I killed it”.

Later again:

“*Tucún, tucún, tucún!!*”.

“*Larí, larí, larí, jajay*, it is not here!”

“Look at that ***chucho***! What a trouble maker! Tomorrow I’m killing it”.

Then, the third time: “*Tucún, tucún, tucún!!*”

“Larí, larí, larí, jajay, it is not here!”

“Look at that **chucho**! Oh no! – she said – Why did this animal came here?

Well, the huge animal went away, the shack was thundering when it left. So the woman fell asleep. The next day she wakes up:

“You, shameless **chucho**, why didn't you let my fortune it? Don't you see it is my fortune?

So she grabbed her machete and slashed the poor **chuchito** with it, she cut it in half. She left a piece on one side and the other on the other side:

“Now it will, my fortune will come in.”

She was happy all day, waiting that the night arrived so her fortune will come with it. In the night she dressed herself well with a new nightgown, because that night her fortune will finally come. When midnight arrived, the shack started to thunder again:

“Tucún, tucún, tucún!!”

“Larí, larí, larí, jajay, it is not here!”

“Look at that shameless **chucuho**! I'm sure I smashed it into pieces!

How did it come together? – She said from her bed – How could that be?

Later again:

“Tucún, tucún, tucún!!”

“Larí, larí, larí, jajay, it is not here!”

“But look at that trouble maker **chuchol**!” – the woman said.

Later again:

“Tucún, tucún, tucún!!”

“Larí, larí, larí, jajay, it is not here!”

The huge animal went away, the shack remained thundering and the furious woman wakes up the next morning.

“You didn’t let my fortune in, now I’m smashing you with my machete.

And she grabbed the machete and chopped the dog into pieces. It wasn’t enough for her, so she poured gas on him and set it on fire, and then she threw the ashes in the river.

“Now my fortune will come in, what a joy! – She said.

Well then, evening arrived, along with the bonfire for the tiger and she fell asleep.

“Now my fortune will come” – she said.

At midnight, it comes again: “*Tucún, tucún, tucún.*”

Nothing. There was no longer a dog. “*Tucún, tucún, tucún!!*” Nothing. “*Tucún, tucún, tucún!!!*” The shack door opens and the huge animal appears with his huge tongue out sparking from everywhere.

“What a joy! Here comes my fortune, here comes my fortune! – The woman said jumping on the bed with her nightgown.

“I’m not your fortune; I’m the devil who has come to claim you, because you came here from the village fleeing from children birds, flowers, you wanted no noise, you wanted nothing. You came and put yourself here thinking I was your fortune, but I am the devil who has claimed you!”

“What did you do to the **chuchito**? The **chuchito** was an angel that God had sent you from heaven so you’d be free, to take care of you and I couldn’t claim you, what did you do to it? Did you sell it, killed it again or chopped it into pieces and throw its ashes in the river? So now I’m the devil and I am taking you with me.”

So he puts his tongue around the arms of the woman and dragged her, with chains and rattles sounding, the devil took her to hell.

So that was what the woman deserved for being ungrateful with all the things of life. Snip, snap, snout, this tale’s told out.””

(Juan Ramírez Chuc, Chuarrancho,
Department of Guatemala).

2. THE SCIENCE OF ANIMALS AND THE SHEPHERD

“There was a very poor man who had a son. Every day he sent him to herd goats. But after some days of the boy herding the goats, the boy, around fifteen years old, appeared to him a burn from a place where a snake had arrived, burning itself comfortably in a small spot where there was water. The **patojo***, being a shepherd, grabbed it with the stick of his whip and threw the snake into the water.

“Ah, ah! –the snake said- now you’re defending me from burning. Now you are coming with me where my dad and mom are. You will have to learn the science of us.

“Yes, I’m going.”

They arrived to a place where with little crags and the little snake entered and said:

“Mom, where are you?”

“I’m here, son.”

“Mom, I was burning, but there was a **patojo** that took me out of the fire and put me in water where I recovered and lived.”

“Oh, daughter, where is him?”

“He’s coming with me”

“We’re going to teach him about the science of us so with the time he’ll be happy. Give him a book to he reads about the science of us, so he hears and make his happiness with the time.

Few days after, he already knew well about the science of animals and a morning he was reading when two birds passed by in a high place and said:

“If anyone knew about the science of us –two birds said- I’d be happy, because here in this crag –the bird said- there is gold, silver and utensils.

“Ok” – said the **patojo**, the shepherd replied:

“Is that true?”

He went to see and threw the end of his whip on a rock and lifted it

***patojo**: Guatemalan slang for a young boy or girl (**patoja**).

softly. Probably because he already knew about the science of animals and understood them well. He turned the rock around and found gold, silver and utensils. He took the gold out, and left the utensils there to reserve them. Few months later he bought some things: a horse, a yoke or oxen and the father says:

“Why are you touching people’s animals?”

“No dad, I’m touching them because they allowed me to.”

“Oh, ok.”

But after a while, well, he bought some other things and the dad says:

“Son, where are you getting money from?”

“I am the only one who knows where I am gettin’ it from.”

After a while the **patojo** says to the dad:

“Dad, I want to get married.”

“Oh, and where are we going to get money for it?”

“Come with me and I’m going to give the money. Here, mom, take some money, get yourself some clothes and some shoes. Here, dad, I’m also giving you money so you get yourself some shoes, clothes, and you can come with me to ask for my wife’s hand.”

After a while they went to ask for the wife’s hand and everything was arranged. Since the shepherd now had money, they reached an agreement.

Shortly after, they got married and the father let them live on their own. After a while the shepherd was invited at the in-laws' house. They got an invitation to a party and said:

“We are going on horseback” – he said to his wife.

“It’s true, now we have horses, now if you want, we can go on horsebacks.”

“You can go on the mare and I on the horse.”

The shepherd took a while to go get one horse, and after a while, he

went to get the other one. Then the two horses started talking to each other:

“Which one of us do you think the lady with ride on?”

“You” – The horse said to the mare.

“Look, what if she rides you on?”

“I will not take her, because she is heavier... I will drop her.”

“Hey, look, if you drop her the master will hit you.”

“Uh huh, he would hit me?”

“He would hit you.”

The shepherd was hearing everything and laughed. His wife saw him and said:

“Why are you laughing for?”

“Ah! Because the horses want to fight each other.”

“No, I don’t believe you, you know something, tell me.”

“No.”

“Just tell me, and I’ll love you for it.”

“No.”

She started to hug him so he could tell her, as he knew the science of the animals. He loved her so much so he told her:

“Look, let’s go to the party like we were invited, and I will tell you, just in case I die.”

“Ah, why would you die? You look just fine.”

They went to the party and the girl said:

“Let’s go now, and you’re going tell me what you were going to tell me.”

“Ah, yes.”

But then they carried a **chucho**. The **chucho** began howling from the sadness it felt for the shepherd, because by telling his wife the secret, the science of the animals, he would die. When they stepped outside, his master said:

“Why are you crying?”

“Ah, because you know our secret, the science of us, and you’re going to tell the mistress. Then you’re going to die.”

A rooster passed by with eighty hens. Then the dog said to his master:

“And tell her that you hit your wife with the whip you use on the horse, just so she won’t ask you to reveal our secret, because if you do, you will die.”

“Ah, ah, ok, don’t worry, I won’t do it.”

When they got to the house, he got off the horse, and so did the girl, his wife, and she started insisting that he tell her what he had promised. So he said:

“Do not be stubborn; I’m not going to tell you, because I will die.”

“Liar.”

She asked him again and again, three times, with the same stubbornness, until he even hit her with the whip. After that, she stopped asking. And that’s where it ended. “”

(Mateo Ixpica. Santa Barbara
Department of Huehuetenango).

3. THE MIRACLES OF THE LITTLE VIXEN

““There was a young man, who lived far away from a young lady he had met in a photograph. He loaded one mule with money and another one with food, and set off on the road with his servants. As they walked a little while, they heard an animal crying in a ravine. One of the servants went to see and said:

“It is a fish, crying because it doesn’t have water.”

“Give it water” – said the prince.

The fish said to the servant:

“When you are in need, remember me, and I will come to save you.”

“Very well” – said the servant.

The prince continued on his way. Further on, in a tree, an eaglet was complaining and the servant asked:

“Why are you complaining for?”

“I’m hungry.”

The servant carried with him half a bundle of meat.

“When you are in need, remember me” – said the eaglet to him.

Well, they carried on, and in another place, a little animal, called a vixen, was complaining on a ledge. The servant went over and asked:

“Why are you complaining for?”

“I’m hungry and thirsty.”

And when he turned around and gave her food, she said to him:

“When you are in need, remember me.”

So, they continued on and arrived where the girl was and her mother told him:

“Whoever hides from my sight, will be the husband of my daughter.”

The servant came as fast as he could and said:

“Oh fish! I have penance, I must hide from the sight of the mother of this girl.”

The fish became present and said to him:

“Come into me.”

He went inside of the fish mouth and went to the deepest of the sea.

Then, the lady went out at dawn, and looked all around the sky, in every direction, and she couldn’t see him. But when she cast her gaze towards the seas, he was deep in the most profound depths of the ocean.

"I see where you are."

So he came out.

"I saw you, you were inside a fish."

So he came out and remembered the eaglet and said:

"The eaglet would definitely hide me."

He got up early and said to the eaglet:

"You are going to help me today."

"If you ride on my wings and bring an arroba of meat and give it to me when I say: meat to the beak! You give me meat and I'm going to let you in the sun rays.

It flew and flew and let him in the sun rays. It went to pick him up at five in the afternoon. When he arrived the lady said to him:

"I saw you, you are smart. You were in the sun rays."

Ah, he was heartbroken! And he remembered the tiniest animal he had helped to with food and said:

"Little vixen, you are the only one left, I'm going to be killed tomorrow."

But the little vixen said:

"I am going to set up a clown in that park, and at the moment they go to watch the clown, they'll get all distracted looking at it, and I'll remove the bricks where that old lady stands, and I'll hide you there."

And that's just what she did. She hid him there at six in the morning. The lady stood there, looked all around the world and up at the sky, and she could not see him. At exactly five in the afternoon, she brought out a little clown and said:

"Now you see, since I couldn't see you, you'll get married."

But the little vixen told him:

"At the wedding, they're going to give you a drink that will kill you. Don't drink any glass of anything, just say you don't know how to eat."

And that's what the young man did, because his mother in law wanted to give him that deadly drink to bury him tomorrow, but he didn't give her a chance to have that drink and I came from the wedding until today.'"

(Pedro López Pac. *Rancho de Teja*
Department of *El Quiché*).

4. THE MISTEROUS MONKEY

"There was a man who lived at the riverbank and there he had this shack and he worked as fisherman; everyday he carried half his product to the church, he said that it was for the Saints and the other half was for him. And one of those days, when he went fishing, he found a monkey who told him:

"Take me to your house, and I will help you."

He didn't want to, right? But the monkey insisted so much that he finally took her home. One time, he went to the king to borrow a measuring stick. They lent it to him and later he returned it, the servant told him that a coin had been left stuck in the stick. The fisherman replied:

"You can keep it; it's just my master's leftovers."

Then he came back to borrow a measure to weigh gold.

When he returned it, he left a coin stuck to the stick again and the servant told him:

"You left a coin."

"You can keep it; it's just my master's leftovers."

When the king noticed it he summoned Juan the Fisherman and told him he must marry his daughter. But the fisherman told him:

"I can't, I'm too poor, and I have nothing to offer her." But the king replied: "No, you do have something. Your monkey was the one who came to borrow the stick and the gold measure." So Juan had no choice to obey and the king said that in eight days he had to get married. That man left very overwhelm and when he was in his shack, he punished the monkey for being so bold, but the monkey said:

"Don't worry; I will take care of everything."

And after eight days, that man woke up feeling troubled, not knowing what to do. But when he got up, he saw that the clothes beside his bed were of fine quality, and there was a trunk with all the belongings of the wife, which the monkey had brought over. The king was amazed to see such luxury. And he went to the house to get married. And after they arrived at the church for the wedding ceremony, he said:

“I am so sorry, because I don’t have somewhere to take my wife, I don’t have a house.”

The king replied to him:

“It doesn’t matter, even if it is under a tree, you have somewhere to take your wife.”

And when they were going back home down toward the river, he saw that his house was shining. So he thought it was on fire. The king said:

“It doesn’t matter, even if it is under a tree, you are going to celebrate there.”

But he was so surprised when he saw that his house had turned into a palace. When the newlyweds entered, the marimbas started playing – they didn’t know where the sound came from- And there were some spiders that were in the upper side of the palace. There was a large table full of food. The monkey came and went, arranging everything. After the meal, everyone started dancing and having fun at the wedding. When the party was over and everyone left; only the newlyweds and the monkey remained. Then the monkey said she was leaving, that she had fulfilled her duty and brought them happiness. She left them two rooms full of money and food to enjoy for the rest of their lives. The fisherman said:

“Why are you leaving? Please, forgive me for punishing you earlier when the king...”

The monkey said that it didn’t matter, that it had to be that way. Then she revealed: “I am **your Lord**, you have always shared half of your product with me, and this is your reward for doing that.”

And that’s how the monkey left, said goodbye to them, and they lived happily ever after. That’s how it ends!”

(Desiderio Squic, Vega de Godínez

5. THE FISH OF THE GOLDEN BALL

““This was a man who didn’t believe in Saints, but his wife was very catholic. They had a lot of money, two bags full of money in their house. So the lady was so kind and every day she begged him to give that money away to the church’s atrium. Finally, one Sunday after leaving mass, he went to give the two bags of money to the Lord. His wife told him that God will give you the hundredfold return. So he said to his wife:

“God won’t give me the hundredfold return; I’m going to give you the hundredfold return.”

So, on Sunday, when they left mass, the man accepted advice from his wife and gifted the two bags of money, being left penniless. Holy Week was coming and during this season everyone ate fish, but they didn’t have money to afford it. So the man said to his wife that there was no money to buy fish but that he was going to see if he was able to get something from the ones that had picked up the money. Then he found twelve reales*, so he went to the river bank where a man was fishing. When the man caught a fish, the other man said to him:

“How much do you want for that fish?”

The fisherman answered him:

“I want two pesos.”

The other man said:

“I’ll give you twelve reales.”

Then the fisherman sympathized with him and sold the fish for twelve reales.

When he arrived home he cut open the fish and took a ball out of it, which weighed half a pound of gold. He was advised to sell it to the jeweler. He found the first jeweler quite proportionate, but the jeweler said to him:

“I don’t have enough money to buy the ball.”

So the jeweler sent him to another jeweler who was richer than him. The other jeweler saw the ball and said:

“I can’t buy it, I don’t have enough money to afford it.”

He was sent to another jeweler again, a jeweler who was millionaire and this time he finally had a successful negotiation, he got seven properties with all of their documents and deeds. And that’s it.””

(Bartolomé Mateo. *Llano Coyote*.
Department of Huehuetenango).

6. THE TWO MAGIC DOGS

“Once upon a time, a king and a happy family lived in a great city. In that home they were two, the daughter, the son, the father and the mother. Time passed, and passed by and both the mother and the father aged and died, the only ones left were the son and the daughter, male and female. So, time passed by and they didn’t wanted to live in the same place. The male, who was older than the female, said to her:

“We can sell this place of move out to another place.” So they sold it and moved out with the same money they had. In that new place, they build a small house and everything, and both lived there. One day, the brother went on a walk and found an ear of corn, so he cultivated it on the ground and that corn grew and grew along the care that he gave it. Every morning he went so see the corn, and every evening he came back he told everything about the progress of it to his sister. One day, between the corns a little very old man appeared, and said to him:

“I’m going to give you this little blade, and these two *chuchitos* that are going to be very helpful for you.”

That evening, the bother came back and with a lot to excitement told his sister about what has happened. The next day and more days passed by when a really ugly man appeared at their house and said to her:

“If you are not coming with me, the money, the corn, and everything will be mine, your brother will be killed and you no longer will be together.”

Because the brother didn’t love her, he didn’t give her the freedom that a woman deserved. So the brother notices along the days that his sister was behaving weird. Later the sister said to his brother:

“Look, brother, a man came here to disturb me – she said- I want that you leave the *chuchos* here to protect me.”

“I will leave them with you” – the brother said.

With the heartbroken, he left the dogs there and he went to work. When he was working he saw that man that was coming to kill him.

“Wait” – he said- “I know you’re going to kill me, but not now, I know that everyone gets the chance to say two words, a wish and two words; let me climb at the top of that tree and shout two words.

“Okay” – the man said.

He climbed the tree and there he shouted:

“Tu tiraís y revienta cadenas!!!”

So the two dogs came and when the man that was down saw that the brother didn’t came down, he started to climb the tree, but the two dogs arrived to attack him and throw him on the floor, and started biting him and left him without anything. So the sister was at home thinking:

“What would’ve happen? Why that man isn’t coming?

So the dogs fully ate the man and only left the ribs and the big bones on the ground. The brother came down of the tree and went home with his *chuchitos*. And he said to his sister:

“I knew you have planned all of this, I knew that you wanted to kill me well, now you are going to be by yourself” – he said.

The sisters went where everything has happen, took the two ribs and left them on his brother’s bed. And when the brother went to bed, he laid over the ribs and they pierced both sides of his throat and started bleeding a lot. The two *chuchitos* that the very old man had given him (they were sacred dogs), started to lick, and lick the blood, and after a while of doing it, they stopped the blood and he was not bleeding anymore. So he said to his sister:

“Now I’m sure that you do want to kill me. You must stay here.”

The *patojo* went walking with his two *chuchitos* and the little blade and walked, and walked until he arrived to the lakeshore. Then, that very old man appeared again and said to him:

“This came you came alone, you did not came with your sister?”

“Yes – he said – my sister has betrayed me. She doesn’t love me anymore. I can’t with it anymore.”

So the old man said to him: “

“You want to go to the other side of this lake, your fate is on that side, right? If you want, you can cross the lake and say these words: ‘**Green mountains, blue oceans, cock-a-doodle-doo, come here flying.**’” – The brother crossed the lake, and started walking until he arrived to a city, in that city could be heard that there was a cave near the lake, and there was a dragon in that cave who ate people. So the king of the city said to him:

“Kill that dragon and you may marry my sister.” – But all the men were in danger. Every morning the dragon came out of his cave and ate the people that where in its territory, the ones that were near its cave. So there were not men anymore, because their fate was being eaten by the dragon. So the brother knew it and when he was at the dragon’s cave gate he said:

“Why are you crying? Pretty girl.”

“Because my father has been hiring men to build this gate and then kill the dragon so they can marry me, but now there aren’t any men left, all of them have died, and I am only a woman, I am here; I am crying because the dragon is about to come out.”

“Move – the young man said – I’m going in your place.” – The young man took his little blade out and sat there, at the dragon’s cave gate.

“Girl, go away” – he said. But the girl said to him before leaving that the dragon takes three steps before coming out and that he must be very careful.

So the girl goes to inform his dad about it. And when the young man sat at the dragon’s cave gate he heard: thud, thud, thud! The dragon took his three steps. So scared he looks at it and throws his little blade at it and stabs it in the throat, the dragon falls, it even made noise when it fell when the *patojo* killed it. That was his fate because then he remembered that the two *chuchitos* and the little blade had been a gift from that very old man; and that man represented God, and that everything will be useful in life.

So the *patojo* cuts the tongue of the dragon and goes to show it to the king. The king was already getting old, so before he died, he crowned the one who had killed the dragon, so the young boy marry the daughter of the king. When suddenly, after all the trouble that he had been through, he remembered his two **chuchitos**, whose names were "*Tu tirais y revienta cadenas*" and who were always with him. So suddenly he said:

"Where are my dogs, my *chuchitos*, where are they?"

He started running and looking for them everywhere, when suddenly tow little candles showed up to him and started singing: 'now we are leaving, the only thing we wanted was to make you happy, and here you have your fate, you already were crowned king, you now have a wife that loves you so much, and that is all that we wanted for you, your own good, now we are leaving you alone in peace.'

Well, this story has come to an end.""

(Juan Batzidn. Pochuta.
Department of Chimaltenango).

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IMAGES OF THE INDIGENOUS/DECENTERED NARRATIVE: "**EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA Y EL ZORRO DE ABAJO**" BY JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS

Carlos Raúl Narváez*

Both for its esthetics values and for its content about deep socio-political concerns, the narrative corpus of José María Arguedas (Peru, 1911 – 1969), highlights itself as one of the most dynamic and valuable literary expressions in the vast Latin-American cultural complex of the contemporary era. A faithful reflection of the rich polyvalence and the privileged place that this intriguing work holds in Hispanic Literature in the multiplicity of theoretical, literary, social and linguistic approaches that the texts have inspired, among which only four of the most well – known are mentioned here: **Yawar Fiesta** (1941), **Los ríos profundos** (1958), **El sexto** (1961), and **Todas las sangres** (1964). However, his posthumous work, **El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo** (1969), has not enjoyed the same fortune. Despite its dynamic and diverse semantic substitute and the complete of stylistic narrative techniques (although the meta-textual comments from the narrator of the diaries seem to suggest otherwise), few critics, among them Antonio Conejos Polar, Martin Lienhard, Alberto Escobar, and Ana Maria Barrenechea²

*Note: This work is an extended version of “Proyección del indio en el espacio textual descentrado: **El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo** by José María Arguedas” contribution presented at the VI International Symposium on Indigenous Latin American Literatures, held in Guatemala City from June 13 to 17, 1988.

1. This work is based on the most recent version of **El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo** (Lima: Editorial horizonte, 1986). The pages from where the citations come will be included in parenthesis in within the body of the study.
2. By Cornejo Polar, see **Los universos narrativos de José María Arguedas**. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1973); by Martin Lienhard, **Cultura popular andina y forma novelesca** (Lima: Latinoamericana Editores: 1981); by Alberto Escobar, Arguedas o la utopía de la lengua. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984), and by Ana María Barrenechea, “Escritor, escritura y ‘materia de las cosas’ en los zorros de Argueda”, in **Textos hispanoamericanos** (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1978), pp. 289 – 318.

have occupied themselves with insightful assessments aimed at placing this enigmatic, open ended, totalizing, and plural work in the rightful place it deserves due to its merits. This study is carried out, first and foremost, as a theoretical re-evaluation of the story. Secondly, it aims to offer a rewriting of certain projections of the Indigenous character, his profile, idiosyncrasies, and idiolect. Thirdly, it implicitly reconstructs the displacement of the Indigenous subject from the Andean periphery to Chimbote, the Peruvian coast and center, as textualized in the de-centered narrative space of a work essentially characterized by its confluence of multi-vocal perspectives, its dialogism (in the Bakhtinian sense), its galaxy of ambiguous meanings, its fragmentation, and its abrupt and inconclusive ending.

El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo (hereafter **EZAEZA**) is a work with an atomized structure divided into two asymmetrical parts. The first includes four chapters and three diaries; the second consists of one chapter, one diary, and an epilogue. The five chapters fictionalize events extrapolated from empirical reality. The narrative focuses on the exploitation of the indigenous people, black people, zambos, and mestizos by socioeconomically privileged Peruvian elite and by foreigners. In the diaries and the epilogue, four fundamental themes merge: Arguedas's childhood and adulthood; his obsession with suicide; his praise and criticism of certain Latin American writers; and his observations on the difficult and distressing writing process of the novel.

Nevertheless, this thematic distribution between chapters (the diegetic or novelistic part) and diaries/epilogue (the mimetic part) is not consistently maintained throughout the novel. Narrative meta-/*lepsis* frequently arise, shedding light on the dialectical interdependence between the fictional and the "real." Thus, this paper assumes that both textual corpora (chapters and diaries/epilogue) are integral parts of the novel's global fictional world.

It is precisely on this connection and continuity between diegesis and mimesis that the narrator of the diaries insists in the "Second Diary" ("[...] incorporated [these pages] as the bizarre first diary. They are part of the book—if such a book is to exist." p. 74), and as Barrene points out:

"No podrán ser, pues, el uno sin el otro [...] Así se logrará que el lector vaya siguiendo el desarrollo del texto novelesco, avanzando en permanente diálogo con los fragmentos confesionales intercalados. No es que la parte narrativa le responda explícitamente, pues nunca se alude a ellas en la novela de Chimbote, pero se cuenta con que el lector la va siguiendo en

etapas sucesivas una memoria que va almacenando alternativamente los textos de los “Diarios” y asumiendo la situación dialógica.”³

EZAEZA belongs to a category of self-analytical texts which, following the trajectory initiated by Huidobro in ***Altazor*** at the beginning of the 20th century and continued in the work of Borges (***Ficciones, El hacedor***), Salvador Elizondo (***El hipogeo secreto***), Cristina Peri Rossi (***La rebelión de los niños, El libro de mis primos***), Cabrera Infante (***Tres tristes tigres***), Julieta Campos (***El miedo de perder a Eurídice***), and, among others, Vicente Leñero (***El garabato***), undergo a rigorous critical-theoretical interrogation and appraisal of their own construction processes.

The self-reflexive references appear in the diaries and the epilogue as meta-textual commentary or mise en abyme techniques that, on the one hand, emphasize the imperative need for an appropriate vehicle to channel the various narrative threads that are being told, and on the other, underscore the problematic nature of the novel's fragmentary and inconsequential progression. Among these, we find frequent characterizations of the novel as a “*entrecortado y quejoso*” (p. 196), “*lisiado y desigual*” (p. 202), “*novela algo inconexa*” (p. 201), “*Inconclusa y un poco destroncada*” (p. 198). We also witness Arguedas's pathological concern with finding the necessary source of inspiration and the appropriate expressive machinery (textual strategies, technical mechanisms) that would allow him to weave together the dispersed intradiegetic world and bring it to a successful conclusion:

“¿Y cómo hago ahora yo [...] para anudar y avivar las ramas que tanteando y anhelante [...] he extendido tanto [...].” (p. 73)

“[...] ando de dificultades para comenzar este maldito capítulo III.” (p. 74).

“[...]he vuelto a sentirme sin chispa, sin candelita para seguir escribiendo.” (p. 144)

“[...] creo haber encontrado el método, la técnica, no para el capítulo V, sino para la Segunda Parte de este todavía incierto libro.” (p. 148).

Following the tone of this apparent self-criticism or self-condemnation that might seem to devalue or cancel the literary and esthetic achievements

3. Barrenechea, ***Ibid.***, p. 295.

or the work. Renowned critics and authors like Rodríguez Menegál, Jonh S. Brushwood, etc., have tried to definitely silence it by excluding it from their anthologies and studies, meanwhile others have interpreted **verbatim** as expressions of technical and stylistic flaws of the textual confession that, according to our perspective, should be decipher in a metaphoric way. To Ángel Rama EZAIZA is an “unfinished novel”, to Vargas Llosa, “imperfect novel”; Jean Franco calls it “unsuccessful novel”; and for Sara Castro Klarén, the novel does not transcend the category of a “minor” work of relative importance.⁴

Among the recurring themes of the work, one can discern the overt or covert denunciation of the harmful effects of the excessive use of Western (Cartesian) rationalism. In its **modus operandi**, this rationalism excludes from its “realm” everything that escapes conventional logic and aims to obliterate or dismantle magic, myth, poetry, and intuition—qualities inherent to pre- and post-Hispanic indigenous cultures. Ironically, the extreme logic that the text criticizes seems to govern the thinking of some critics who interpret it **ad pedem litterae** (literally) thereby reducing the potential for textual polysemy, despite the evident presence in the work of multiple semantic layers, at least three. For example, when the narrative voice in the epilogue refers to the “*novela inconexa*” (p. 201) and the “*lisiado y desigual relato*” (p. 202), it is clearly referring, in figurative terms, to its quality as an **opera aperta**, an inherent characteristic that the work shares with other contemporary cultural products such as music, painting, architecture, etc.

Just as with Calder’s mobile constructions, Dalí and Picasso’s surrealist and cubist sculptures and paintings, or the dissonant music of Stravinsky and John Cage, the narrative displaces the recipient from the traditional locus from which they were accustomed to passively observe, listen to, and read any spectacle of art, music, and literature, respectively. EZAIZA (*El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*) forces the recipient to adopt new positions and attitudes: it invites them to become a co-producer of the

4. The comments made by these critics about the novel appear in the following sources: Ángel Rama, Introducción a **Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana** by José María Arguedas (Siglo xxi Editores, 1987), p. XX; Vargas Llosa, “**El sexto** de José María Arguedas: La condición marginal” en **El sexto** (Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1979), p. 7-21, especially p. 20; Jean Franco, **La experiencia americana de José María Arguedas** (Buenos Aires: Fernando García Cambeiro, 1973), p. 231; Sara Castro Klarén, **El mundo mágico de José María Arguedas** (Lima: Instituto de estudios peruanos, 1973), p. 199.

text, to construct models of intelligibility, and to bring to conclusion what is unfinished, what is merely hinted at in its problematic evolution.

EZAEZA is a disarticulated visceral structure, which fuses history and fiction, central voices and discourses (of the indigenous people) and peripheral ones (from white, black, mulatto and zambo people). It deletes generic borders between prose, poetry, diaries, and epistolary gender; it eliminates the borders between magical, mystical and fantastical discourses; between dialogues, chronicles and draws. In its narrative trajectory ambiguous discourse, and clear and transparent messages are linked, as well as the neo-realist code with the surrealist and fantastical are linked. EZAEZA is an adding work that aims the configuration of the collective and individual psychology (mental lucidity and madness), as well as the political and social concerns and commitments.

The text shows its multiple realities as prismatic and scattered images lacking of logic relationship. It constructs itself as a Meccano of unruly and disconnected pieces. It invalidates lies and falseness of lineal, temporal and special coherency. It sometimes destroys the rational coincidence because its exclusive use only manages to achieve a fake and superficial idea of the complex dynamic reality. It always decentralizes and misleads the traditional narrative spaces, and consequently, the reader that faces this **sui generis** “disorganized” universe. The work nullifies one-dimensional stratification and asserts, in all its facets, the multidimensionality and polysemy of the narrated events through fragmentation, the plural voices that channel the information, the strategically placed blank spaces (silences), and its problematic and unfinished ending. About the unfinished endings and blank spaces (what has not been said), which are narrative strategies activated as partial generators of the novelistic sense, Cornejo Polar says:

*El obvio inacabamiento del texto implica problemas especiales en orden a su interpretación. Lo no escrito resulta ser una dimensión del sentido de El Zorro [...] allí reside la significación del silencio de la muerte y de la realidad indecible [...] El silencio no es sólo el contexto de la novela; tal como está concebida y realizada, es parte del texto mismo. El Zorro [...] es [...] una novela inacabada [...] porque queda abierta, como pocas, como ninguna a la generosidad del lector.*⁵

By delivering EZAEZA as an open work to the reader, Arguedas chan-

5. Cornejo Polar, *Ibid.*, p. 264 – 265.

nels his novel through the latest currents of the Latin American new novel, dramatically distancing it from the traditional narrative style that governed his earlier works and aligning it with the new horizons of esthetic, literary, ethical, and social expectations of an authorial public that began timidly to take shape in Latin America at the beginning of the 20th century with unfinished texts such as *“Una novela que comienza”* by Macedonio Fernández, and which gained momentum through fragmentary and scattered texts like ***El reino de este mundo*** by Carpentier, ***Pedro Páramo*** by Rulfo, ***Rayuela*** by Cortázar, ***La feria*** by Arreola, ***Entre Marx y una mujer desnuda*** by Jorge Enrique Adoum, ***Tres tristes tigres*** by Cabrera Infante, ***Figuraciones en el mes de marzo*** by Díaz Valcárcel, etc. In each of these works, a succession of moments is linked that, at first glance, only produce ambiguous, de-realized tableaux of remote conceptual relationships. All of them appear to be composed of relatively autonomous narrative fragments that are not tightly or “coherently” assembled.

Thus, the fact that the narrative is, by its own confession, “disjointed,” “uneven,” and “unfinished” should not be seen as an intrinsic flaw in the technique, but rather as a narrative merit, as a subversive strategy among others which, like those mentioned above, contribute to the configuration of Arguedas’s neo-indigenism. From this perspective, it is revealing that in the third diary the narrator states that he has learned to handle the “technique” of Julio Cortázar and other ones of the contemporary writers:

Ocupándome, impremeditadamente, de don Julio y de otros escritores se animó mucho el comenzar este libro, y sospecho, temo, que para seguir con el hilo de los “Zorros” algo más o mucho más he debido aprender de los cortázarez, pero eso no sólo significa haber aprendido la “técnica” que dominan sino el haber vivido un poco como ellos. p. (147).

The conscious reactivation of that “technique”, that is, elliptical constructions, semantic and typographic fragmentation, and the incompleteness of superimposed micro-histories, is what has allowed the author to produce a modern verbal structure, attentive to its narrative processes, that repeatedly self-identifies as disjointed and unfinished.

The tautological use of these terms in the work also function as a mise en abyme or meta-textual synopsis explanation of the problematical relationships that the author went through between his tormented mental state (his obsession with suicide) and the internal referent of the work (its

fictional world); between his anguished psych, literary product and empirical socio – political reality:

*Voy a tratar, pues de mezclar, si puedo, este tema [del suicidio] que es el único cuya esencia vivo y siento como para poder transmitirlo a un lector, voy a tratar de mézclalo con los motivos elegidos para una novela que, finalmente decidí bautizarla: **El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo**; también lo mezclaré con todo lo que en tantísimos instantes medité sobre la gente y sobre el Perú, sin que hayan estado específicamente comprendidos dentro del plan de la novela (18).*

The neo-indigenism outlined in the discursive lines of EZAEZA stands in direct contrast to the simplistic, schematic, and dichotomous of Peruvian indigenism in the first half of the 20th century. The fundamental characteristics of this initial cultural trend that coincided with the archeological discoveries of Machu Pichu, Paracas, etc. and that only could partially reflect one aspect of the multiracial and multicultural Peru's dynamic, those are: a combative attitude, harsh realism, the pursuit of documentary, objective recognition of the environment, the interpretation of reality through a simplified and schematic rationalism, spontaneous emotion expressed as an esthetic value, the denotative and translative meaning of all narrative events, and the nostalgic, sometimes idyllic, recreation of the pre-Hispanic Inca culture as if it were the "only" Incan cultural expression. This trend also involved a refusal to justly value post-Hispanic Incan culture, an exclusive focus on the dichotomous relationship between the Indian and his exploiter—a relationship which, according to Ángel Rama, "overlaps with the coast-sierra dichotomy, generating the widely disseminated dualist thesis of Peruvian critical thought."⁶

In its myopic view of Peruvian reality, this indigenism, that according to Arguedas extends even into the work of José Carlos Mariátegui,⁷ lacked a deep understanding of the indigenous culture, he does not notice the subtlety that separates the different types of indigenous communities and landowners, and, in an apparent and flagrant distortion of reality, ignored the contributions of the mestizo and the zambo to the historical and cultural evolution of the country.

6. Ángel Rama, *Ibid.*, p. XV.

7. Arguedas points out in "Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú": "Mariátegui no disponía de información sobre la cultura indígena o india; no se la había estudiado, ni él tuvo oportunidad ni tiempo para hacerlo." **En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana**, p. 192.

EZAEZA transcends the narrow and limiting boundaries of traditional indigenism and defines a new indigenist trend (neo-indigenism), one closer, though still in figurative terms, to the complex contemporary reality of Peru. The novel highlights the importance of pre and post-Hispanic culture, both original and autochthonous elements, and the ones that have evolved under the influence of other western presences. It refuses puerile and stylized evocations of a utopian pre-Columbian era and textually reconstructs the Quechua idiolect of the Indian, but with a strong dose of mimicry, affected and altered by its inevitable contact with Spanish, thus distancing itself from the Cuzco academics who defended linguistic purism.

On the other hand, one of the main project that that the novel handles is to broaden the approach to Peruvian reality: portray it in its multiracial and multilingual complexity, in its political, economic, and social tensions and conflicts, generated in part by the impact of imperialism. The fiction does not revolve exclusively around the image of the indigenous people and its problematic, but, Arguedas affirms in "*Razones de ser del indigenismo en el Perú*" that this is about:

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8. Rama says that it is his "Introduction" to ***Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana***:

"Arguedas utilizó y defendió el idioma quechua tal como lo manejaba espontáneamente la población, o sea empedrado de hispanismo, oponiéndose de este modo al purismo lingüístico de los académicos cuzqueños." (p. 19).

We add for our part, that if on one hand Quechua is splattered with linguistic particles of Spanish, and in the other hand, Spanish itself has been textualized, invaded and "deformed" by the impact of English from the north-American traders:

*"Allí cominaban **huachimanes** entorchados y con cascots blancos [...]"* (54-55) "*Huachimanes*" comes from English "watchmen", that in Spanish means "guardians (guardianes)" or "nightstands (veladores)". The same term is mention again in pages 106, 135.

*"[...] Moncada [...] predicaría también con obras, si tuviera **monies**."* (55) "*Monies*" comes from "money", which means "dinero" in Spanish.

*"[...] se detenían a devorar anticuhos, **sánguches**, fruta [...]"* (70). The Word "*sánguches*" is a deformation of "sandwiches", frequently used in Hispanic America to refer to the idea of "*emparedado*". It is mentioned again in page 106.

*"La fábrica marchaba a todo **ful**."* (96) "*Ful*" = "Full"; it is a polisemic term that means "*lleno*", "*amplio*", "*pleno*", etc. "*A todo ful*" replaces the idiomatic expression "*a todo dar*."

Other examples are provided in the phrases "*orquesta agogó*", p. 167. ("*A go gó*" = coined term during the 60s to refer a very trendy North American dance during that period); "*La municipalidad manda arrasar con **buldóseres***", p. 196. ("*Buldóseres*" = Bulldozers = *topadoa o empujadora niveladora*).

Abarcar todo el mundo humano del país, en sus conflictos y tensiones interiores, tan complejas como su estructura social, y el de sus vinculaciones determinantes, en gran medida, de tales conflictos, con las implacables y poderosas fuerzas externas de los imperialismos que tratan de moldear la conducta de sus habitantes a través de control de su economía y de todas las agencias de difusión cultural y de dominio político. [Este texto puede calificarse de neo-indigenista] en tanto que continúa reafirmando los valores humanos excelsos de la población nativa [...].”

It is important to highlight that this concern to portray the historical contemporary dynamic (for transforming history into a novelable esthetic matter) confronted with the delirious concern for finding the most appropriate literary instruments to textualize it, turns the literary artifact into a historiographical metafiction¹⁰ which relates to another novelistic projects of contemporary Hispanic-American literature, for example, ***El señor presidente*** by Asturias, and ***One hundred years of solitude*** by García Márquez.

That means, on one hand, that the novel is a meta-fiction, because according to what has been seen in the first lines of this work, symbolically alludes to its apparent textual immanence, to its deceptive self-reference by means of meta-textual comments that contemplate the problematic of writing (*ando en dificultades para comenzar este maldito capítulo*”, 74), on the other hand, paradoxically, it identifies its references, its cultural socio-political context, by inter-textually dialoguing with Peruvian historiography, by recreating through parody perspective Peruvian historical events that arose since the 50s.

The geographical, economic, political, cultural and linguistic context for the realization of the monumental undertaking that Arguedas proposes was provided by *Chimbote*, one of the biggest fishing ports of the world, located in the northern coast of Peru. The diegesis of the ***Zorros*** (it is how the author used to call his novel) recreates a journey of contemporary history of this regions in that misery and superabundance, hunger and waste, above and below, Quechua and Spaniard, the exploiter and the exploited. Historically, Gladys C. Marín points out:

9. Arguedas, “*Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú*”, p. 196-197.

10. For a better definition and extension of the concept “historiographical metafiction” in contemporary narrative, consult the following recent studio: ***A Poetics of Postmodernims: History, Theory, Fiction***, by Linda Hutcheon (New York: Routledge, 1988), especially pages 105-123.

*El desarrollo y crecimiento de Chimbote como polo de atracción económica nace en 1950 con la instalación de una planta siderúrgica que aprovechaba el mar y la fuerza hidroeléctrica del río Santos. Seis años después, en 1956, se instalan las primeras fábricas de harina de pescado dando así el gran paso hacia la industrialización. Acorde con las estadísticas, esta marcha hacia la industrialización trajo aparejado para Chimbote un crecimiento demográfico como consecuencia de las migraciones internas, verdaderamente explosivo. [...] Naturalmente este crecimiento trae aparejado una multiplicidad de problemas sociales muy graves que José María Arguedas intenta mostrar en **El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo**.¹¹*

In search of well-being and economic and social enrichment, the most dispersed and antithetical human and social destinies come together in the chaotic, multiple, and monstrous urban space of Chimbote portrayed in the text at hand: prostitutes, hags, North Americans, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Italians, Creole peasants, fishermen, priests, merchants, politicians “negros, zambos, injertos, borrachos, cholos insolentes o asustados, chinos flacos, viejos [...]” (41). It is visceral region in which personal ambition, egocentrism, and capitalist interest suffocate the “weakest”, annul their individuality, and turn them into object or statistics, mere means to an end. The achievement of the material and spiritual “stability” of a socio-economically privileged elite is perpetuated at the expense of the basic needs and well-being of the masses, who, enslaved and vilified by the machinery of power and the established oppressive order, generate the wealth of the region for the benefit of others, primarily through the production of fishmeal.

The voracious materialistic appetite of the power holders (for example, Braschi) breaks the communal union among workers, who mostly shift between the factory and the slum, between the market and the brothel, between the highlands and the coast, the center and the periphery, between a burdensome present and a liberating mythical past, alienated, acculturated, and without a clear sense of direction toward the future, and without the slightest idea of their important role in the dynamics of history.

According with the need for verisimilitude and an interrogative perspective of situations, characters and social types, the author turns to pluridiscursivity, that is, a stratification of language into dialects, peculiar speech modes, words, and expressions from different social and cultural

11. Gladys C. Marín, *La experiencia americana de José María Arguedas*, p. 233.

backgrounds, each with its own style or ideologeme. From this perspective, the novel becomes a **locus** of intersection where the voices or discourses of the author-narrator of the diaries and the epilogue, as well as the narrators and characters of the four chapters and the second part, converge or conflict. In this superimposition of voices that sometimes reveals the splitting of the authorial voice, and at other times makes explicit the convergences of divergences between the discourse of Arguedas and the one from the fictionalized mediators, there is always a predominance of the voice of the character represented (the indigenous person, black, zambo, white, etc.) marked by both individually distinctive characteristics and socially typical traits.

Precisely, this configuration of intradiegetic narrators (participants in the story) or extradiegetic narrators (distanced observers who do not participate in the events they narrate) and plural voices that produce diverse and sometimes troubled versions of the world, it is a unique characteristic that marks an unbreakable difference between EZAEZA and classic text. It is, if you will, a dialogic novel (in the Bakhtinian sense) that invalidates in its multidiscursive practice (dynamic), the monologic (static) approaches of the traditional novel.

To the omniscient, imperial narrator, who in the canonical text is often projected as a quasi-God, knowing and owning the psychological material and the physical reality of the character in which they operate, the text opposes individualized voices, carriers of their own discourse and truth. To the objectified consciousnesses subjected to the suffocating presence of the omniscient narrator, it opposes liberated, independent consciousnesses. Whereas in the monologic novel, the voices of the characters are always subordinate to a “superior” consciousness and usually serve a purpose (to support a preconceived idea by the narrator-author), in EZAEZA, voices convey autonomous, independent, unfinished ideas that exist in true dialogic relation with one another.¹³

Although in the ramified and problematic progression of EZAEZA, the writing becomes a constant practice of the ellipsis, semantically, temporally, spatially and visually, beneath the apparent chaos of its protean structure lie

12. For a succinct elaboration or plurivocality as it applies to the multidiscursive phenomenon in EZAEZA, see, by Mijaíl Bajtín, *Problemas de la poética de Dostoievski* translation by Tatiana Burnova (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), p. 278-279.

13. The dialectic “monologism/dialogism” is widely addressed by Bajtín in *Problemas de la poética de Dostoievski*, especially all the first chapter of the text, p. 15-70.

dialogic organizations that serve as the framework or support for the multitude of textualized micro-histories from beginning to end. This particular structuring of the diegesis around nuclei of dialogic exchange is corroborated both at the intra-textual level (within the work), and in the relationship it maintains with extra-textual sources (outside the work).

At the intra-textual level, dialogue as generative base of information is established ***ad principio*** from the novel's very title, in the juxtaposition between *el zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* [the fox from above and the fox from below] and it is powerful reaffirmed in the dialogues between the diaries and the "novelistic" text; between the author (narrator), and the receivers (implicit narrators) from the diaries and the letters; between innocence and sexuality; morality and corruption; in the between the highlands and the coast; between the town and the city; between the cosmos and chaos; as well in the dialogues between the mythical foxes (29, 48 – 50); between Don Angel Rincón Jaramillo and Don Diego (75-109); between Don Esteban de la Cruz and *el loco* Moncada (111-112); Don Hilario Caullama and Doble Jeta (155-157), *el chancho* Gregorio Bazalar and Cardozo (165-169); Maxwell and Cardozo (176-182); Cardozo and Ramírez (183-185), Cardozo and Hutchinson (194-195), etc.

At the extra-textual level, the importance of dialogue in the genesis of the novel is made explicit in the general inter-textual relationships it maintains with the text that fall under the rubric of "indigenist novel" and the specific inter-textual dialectic it develops with pre-text from indigenous cultural heritage (legends, myths, songs).

How one should approach to this fictional world that overflows and invalidates traditional narrative frameworks? EZAEZA is a kind of a den or rizhome that hosts the possibility of multiple entries or critical (linguistic, sociological, literary, psychoanalytic, ethnological, political, and social) approaches, none or which appears to hold priority. While bearing in mind that a total pathological reading of a work is virtually impossible, the rest of the present analysis disassembles the text into intelligibility models (an implicit task), based on some dialogic instances, both intra- and extra-textual, so as to sketch a typology of the various projections of the Indigenous subject emerging from the decentered textual space of EZAEZA. This aspect is briefly emphasized because, although Arguedas clearly transcends the narrow, dualistic, and schematic conception of Peruvian reality often found in basic indigenist discourse, thanks to the convergence of different ethnic groups, idiolects, and ideologies, his work frequently betrays the initial project outlined in the early diary: the configuration of a multicultural, multilingual,

multi-racial political reality, and diverts to the exclusive concern of the indigenous person, its transculturation and alienation.

In José María Arguedas. *El nuevo rostro del indio*, Antonio Urrello refers to the extensive dialogic segments of EZAEZA and criticizes the schematic configuration of characters and the political conflicts they express:

*Los largos diálogos doctrinarios, la concepción esquemática de los tipos y la insistencia en la pugna política de las clases representadas, desvían este trabajo del característico acercamiento poético a que Arguedas nos había acostumbrado.*¹⁴

This devaluation of the skills and the art of dialogue, like that made by Castro Klarén in *El mundo mágico de José María Arguedas* (“EZAEZA se acerca más a la estructura de un diálogo platónico que a una novela en cuanto carece de drama o de acontecimientos... [L]a conversación o las opiniones en ella expuestas carecen de drama, de tensión, de vida...”¹⁵) are critical approaches that evidently submit the novel to theoretical (ideological) models contrary to those sustained by the novel itself by its narratives processes.¹⁶ The characters who dialogue are not always realist in nature, as both critics implied; rather, they are protean, magical or fantastic, full of life, drama, tension, mystery, tragedy and poetry, and they are able to represent the vast and diverse geographical panorama of the region, capturing the complex and expansive eco-socio-political reality of Chimbote, and, sometimes penetrating both collective and individual psych of another characters to decipher their sick and degraded worlds. For example, in the extensive and dynamic dialogues that Don Diego holds with Don Angel (75-109), the latter provides, in poetic-dramatic brushstrokes, a tragic image of the Indigenous subject in diaspora, descending from the Andean periphery to the hellish, Dantesque center of Chimbote:

[...] los seranos se desgalaron de las haciendas y de sus comunidades pueblos en que estaban clavados como siervos o como momias, se desgalaron hasta aquí, al puerto, para coletear cual peces felices en el agua o para boquear como peces en la arena, es decir, pa' gozar o pa' cagar fuego [...] se vinieron con sus capitalitos de mezquinas herencia y de ahorros. (84-85).

14. Antonio Urrello, *José María Arguedas: El nuevo rostro del indio* (Lima: Mejía Baca, 1974), p. 184.

15. Sara Castro Klarén, *El mundo mágico de José María Arguedas*, p. 199.

16. In his study cited above, *Cultura popular andina y forma novelesca*, Martín Lienhard dedicates chapter IV (p. 141-166) to the different and dynamic dialogic textures in EZAEZA.

The worldview of Don Angel seems to be focused through an optical cinematic lens that moves strategically through different spaces of geographic points to produce a faithful and comprehensive version of the drama and human tragedy faced by the indigenous person upon arriving in Chimbote, and of the degrading and humiliating learning process he is involuntarily subjected to merely survive. His dialogic statement outline the deplorable conditions in which the indigenous people live in area near the urban center, in mosquito infested wetlands and sand dunes, and speak of their moral degradation and disintegration. The following excerpts are fragments of the discourse of Don Angel that offer multiple moving images of the wretched conditions of the indigenous people. They are configured as cinematic images with strong visual and auditory impact:

[...] de la sierra bajaban cascadas de gente lloriqueando, o indios que venían del sur con caras algo como de huacos o de santos [...] (81).

[...] otros hambrientos bajaron directamente aquí para trabajar en lo que fuera; en la basura o en la pesca. Se dejaron amarrar por docenas, desnudos, en los fierros del muelle y allí, atorándose, chapoteando, carajeándose unos a otros, aprendieron a nadar [...] (81).

Los pantanos donde los zancudos reinan; los desiertos pesados fueron invadidos por esa avalancha. [...] Trazaron sus calles y plazas, se repartieron sus lotes, aparecieron barrios [...] (81).

[...] ahora se quitan lotes, se roban unos a otros. [...] los que entraron a la pesca se embravecieron con la plata que ganaban. [...] Para ellos se abrieron burdeles y cantinas, hechas a medida de sus apetencias y gustos [...] (81-82).

In a successful, bold metaphor, the present situation of the defeated indigenous people is compared to the situation of depersonalized capitalism, it is synthetized and compared to the degeneration and the unstoppable tragic end of the symbolic gannets:

*El coche de antes volaba en bandas [...] Armoniosas [...] de tal modo lindas, tranquilas, ornamentando el cielo [...] Ahora el alcazaz es un gallinazo al revés. El gallinazo tragaba la basura pernicioso: el coche de hoy aguaita, cual mal ladrón, avergonzado, los mercados de todos los puertos [...] Desde los techos, parados en fila, o pajareando con su último aliento, miran la tierra [...]*Están

viejos. Mueren a miles; apestan. Los pescadores los compadecen como incas convertidos en mendigos sin esperanzas. (82).

The depersonalization and physical and moral disintegration of the indigenous people is emphasized in this textual quotes by means of its symbolic representation as dogs ("they were untied"), as fish ("to gasp like fish in the sand"), as passive objects ("they let themselves be tied up by the dozens, naked"), as uniform mass ("the deserts were invaded by the avalanche"), as thieves ("they steal from each other"), sex addicts and drunks ("brothels and bars were opened for them"), as "*cochos*" old people that live from crumbs in the marked of every port, and that "stink", and die in thousands "turned into hopeless beggars."

In addition to offering broad portrayals of the anonymous Indigenous communities that form the base of the economic-political pyramid upon which the structure of Chimbote is built, the dialogues also produce a typology of individualized Indigenous characters, prototypical figures with concrete features, which stand out in the broader drama of subordination. These include: 1) the subordinate who becomes aware of his problem and of the oppressed group to which he belongs, and rebels against the backward order in place; 2) the one who accepts his role and imitates the behavioral patterns (gestures, idiolect, etc.) of the ruling class; and 3) the one who rejects his role as an exploited being and embarks on a search and symbolic re-encounter with his authentic roots, with his native identity. In these three situations the Spanish language, is the appropriate vehicle for the subjugation and control of the lower class.

A paradigm of the first case, the subordinate who questions the order and becomes politically active in pursuit of change, is textualized through the dialogue between El Chanchero Bazalar and Cardozo. El Chanchero Bazalar, elected president of the Indigenous community of San Pedro (165), sincerely adopts Spanish with the aim of using it as a suitable vehicle to approach those in power and thus try to bring about improvements in the socio-political status of the region he represents (165–176). The second type, the one who passively accepts his condition as an "inferior being" and imitates the language and behavioral norms of the oppressive forces in an attempt to be like them, it is dramatized in a dialogue between Don Esteban de la Cruz and an implicit addressee (115). The image represented here is that of Don Esteban de la Cruz's brother, who has voluntarily subjected himself to a process of self-immolation and rejects his personal identity, his culture, his traditions, his language, and his own people, even his brother, who suffers from silicosis contracted while working, enslaved, in the mines of Cocalón.

Me'hermano, ahistá lindo habla castellano, mochachito escapó Chimbote, ahora no quiere hablar quichua. Buen cocinero es, restaurante Puerto Nuevo, grandazo. Lindo castellano habla; a so hermano, enjuermo, ambolante de mercado, desprecia [...] Lunes anda frute barriada Acero. (115-116)

In the schematic micro-story of Asto (39.43), textualized in the various attempts at biography that the omniscient narrator from the first chapter shares in implicit dialogues with the narratee, conjugating the experience of the third type of oppressed indigenous person, the one who under the weight of exploitation and oppression, in a brief time lapse degenerates both physically and spiritually, and later rejects the suffocating, devastator environment, and regenerate to go back to his place of origin. Asto descends to the coast (periphery) to the hellish of Chimbote (center), and as thousands of fellow country-people in a similar situation, undergoes the essential initiation rite to work in the fishing industry:

[...] había visto al indio Asto chapoteando en el mar días de días, amarrado al muelle, aprendiendo a nadar, para matricularse a la Capitanía.” (42).

His corruption and moral degradation reaches its lowest level, firstly, when he visits the “fancy” Pink pavilion of the brothel to sleep with *la Argentina*, the most coveted prostitute of the place (39), and secondly, in his criminal behavior with the taxi driver who takes him home, located in a mud in *la Barriada Acero*:

-Oe, chofir –le dijo-, a me casa, carajo. Hasta me casa.

-¿Adonde vas, jefe?

-Acero, barrio Acero. Pescador lancha zambo Mendieta, yo.

-Barriada dirás, serrano – le corrigió el chofer. [...]

-¿Conoces zambo Mendieta? – preguntó al chofer.

-Si “conoces”. Es contra, recoge serranos brutos.

-Yo, Asto patrón de ti, chofer ladrón.

El chofer detuvo coche y volvió la cara hacia el pasajero. Asto le apuntaba con una chaveta.

-Patrón de ti, ahura. Ricoge, caray, rápido!

Con la otra mano Asto le arrojó a la cara un billete de cincuenta soles.

-¡Silencio! –ordenó. (40-41).

The reaffirmation of his personal identity, as well as his socio-cultural values, are reflected once he saves his sister from the “corral”, a section of the brothel for low-class “*chumecas*” and rejects the Spanish language, speaking only Quechua with her:

El chofer oyó que el pasajero hablaba quechua, fuerte, casi gritando ya. La mujer le contestaba igual. Hablaban después juntos, al mismo tiempo. Parecía un diálogo alegre y desesperado. (43).

The story of Asto is not exhausted by its intradiegetic literalness. In addition to representing the Indigenous person who regenerates himself by reconnecting with his roots, and serving as a *mise en abyme* (paradigm) of the diaspora of Indigenous masses who are dragged like “*llogllas*” from the Andean periphery toward Chimbote, the center of corruption and degradation, it is the semantic segment that most clearly provides the intertextual dialogic link between *EZAEZA* and the literary sources or pretexts of the pre-Hispanic Quechua oral tradition. The story of Asto is incorporated into the novel as a semantic duplication of the tale conveyed by the dialogue between mythical foxes at the end of the first chapter. That dialogue, in turn, constitutes an inter-textual response or semantic expansion of the legend of Tutaykire, collected in an oral text by Francisco de Ávila and translated by Arguedas under the title “*Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*.”¹⁷

In summary, the circular story of Asto, who first oscillates between the Indigenous (Quechua) world and the Western (Chimbote) world, and later between the Western and the Quechua world, when he ultimately decides to dramatically abandon the Chim-botan world to re-enter the Indigenous socio-cultural complex, connotes the violent friction between the antithetical cultures clashing in the geographic space of Chimbote, in its docks, slums, factories, and brothels. Asto’s displacement (highlands–Chimbote–highlands), his return to the seed, to the origin, clearly implies a rejection of inauthenticity, which is metaphorically linked in the text to the idea of corruption. It also implies a defense of authenticity, figuratively presented through the Quechua dialogue with his sister and through the dialectical relationship between his story and the legend of Tutaykire, found in “*Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*.” Authenticity is one of the guiding threads that stitches together the multiplicity of seemingly scattered and antithetical themes found in the decentralized and multiple textual space of *EZAEZA*. The

17. Martín Lienhard offers a synopsis of some of the dielectic inter-textual relationships between *EZAEZA* and “*Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*” in **Cultura popular y forma novelesca**. P. 21-26.

search for authenticity is ultimately what leads the author-narrator of the diaries, on one hand, to condemn the “inauthentic” and “superficial” work of Cortázar, Fuentes, and to a lesser extent, that of Carpentier, Vargas Llosa, and Lezama Lima, and on the other hand, to defend and praise the “authenticity” found especially in the works of Rulfo and Guimarães Rosa, as well as in those of Onetti and García Márquez.

NOTES ON THE INDIGENIST NOVEL BY JORGE ICAZA*

Eduarzo Casar*.

I am going to exemplify in a schematic way this communication because, firstly, I consider that its oral nature imposes a geometrical layout as clear as possible, so that, as my *danzón* teacher said, it can be appreciated “by simple hearing”.

Secondly, because one of its fundamental contents is precisely a reflection on the accomplished function of the schematic character in *Huasipungo*.

We must hasten to add, that immediately after we hear the term “indigenist novel” the well-known phrase: “if the oxymoron is tolerable”. Because, in fact, since the moment it appears, the indigenist novel is built in a contradiction.

The indigenist novel is defined, above all, in a thematic way. For this novel to exist two factors must exist: the novel and the indigenous world.

Let’s go to the novel first. As a specific literary form, it has European origins and, among literary genres, it is the one with the most defined chronological dating. Its historical origin begins with the mode of producing social life that still affects us and continues to affect us. There is no need to invent a pre-existence for it beyond the chronological dating that makes it coincide with capitalism, arguing the most primitive existence of some of its

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• **Note:** the author presented this work as a contribution at the XXVII Congress of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature, held in Mexico City from August 22 to 26, 1988.

loose features, the novel is born as a structure, as a genre, when it is born complete, as a child, who is born with both feet and both hands, and its five fingers in each hand, even if those fingers are still growing and even if they grow into claws, fins or wings. The novel, as literary genre, is defined by have been born into a world where the notion of the individual was already hegemonic, where the consensus of this notion could either contiguous with the omniscient narrator or with the agonizing contrast of the polyphony that opposes it.

For its part, the indigenous world that serves as referent to the indigenist novel, that has its own ways of literary expressions, which are, in a fundamental way, the ones that display through singing or oral narration. There is a contradiction between the novel, that form of expression, the heritage of a developed individualism and the referential world it seeks to accommodate in its broad pages. How, if it is a novel, can it be indigenist? (Of course, we do not say “indigenous novel” and that the suffix “**ist**” is used to indicate doubt, like when we say *psicologista* instead of psychologist or *priista* instead of pri-logic).

The contradiction locked in the term “indigenist novel” survives only if one considers only the models of the European novel, and the controversy over the legitimacy of someone writing about worlds they have not lived in directly, “from within”, as the original protagonist of those worlds is revived. From my point of view, the contradiction “indigenist novel” constitutes what we could call “a good contradiction”, through it there was, and is in Latin America, information and awareness about the indigenous world that would not have been possible through other means.

I would like to give this idea of "sensitization" a more specific content by examining some features of *Huasipungo* by Jorge Icaza.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Icaza was born in Quito in 1906; he is part of the so-called “*Generación del 30*” of the Ecuadorian letters. From the perspective of its chronologic-historical location about his country of origin, this generation is found in the environment of social and administrative reforms that were held by the middle-class and the leftist military in 1925. Around these, the first truly working-class group start to organize themselves, “and- as Agustín Cueva points out- theoretically at least, the indigenous person, still exploited as in the worst times of the colony, was also in the common front” (1).

When examining a novel with the purpose to produce an added knowledge which is given to us even from a single reading, it is essential to place it within the context of what, if I may call it that, support its “poetics”. A more precise term would be “esthetic-literary ideological formation” that is formulated by Franciose Perus, which refers to the consensual conception of each period about what is and what must be literature. Icaza’s poetics is his conception about what is and what must be literature, determines the writing and composition of his novel.

Certainly, the ideological direction with which Icaza approaches the indigenous problematic is formulated by Mariátegui in his **Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality**...: the problem of the indigenous person is, basically, an economic problem. But what is the ‘poetics’, the “literary mandate” that Icaza imposes on himself and through which his ideological ‘opinion’ takes textual form? Icaza conceives the novel as a mechanism of sensitization, as a form of sensitive knowledge of the social construct. The main character, on which he focuses on is not only the indigenous person, not even “society”, but, essentially, the scheme of exploitation that animates it. Icaza does not aim to recreate his referential world “from within”, he does not want to give it cultural or psychological depth to his indigenous character, he wants to describe and literary discover the movement of certain social relationship, how the *latifundista*-priest-authority triad crushes the disoriented indigenous people.

The purpose of Icaza is to configure in his novel a society scheme, and for this purpose the treatment of his character is decisive and consciously crafter with the charcoal of the cartoon.

He wants to configure this scheme in a way that its effect results unavoidable, using resources that sink into the memory through the senses.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

There are mainly two stylistic features that mark this desire in the narrative of Icaza: The use of the em dash as a mechanism of intensification, and the use of dramatic forms for the creation of a collective character.

About the first of these features: Icaza describes that he opens em dashes —almost furrows — within which he inserts finer details or a commentary. I will read an example omitting what is inside of the em dashes:

“This cholo, so succesful as sheriff, bartender, and foreman, could also be recommended as a good Christian, like a model husband, like a big slob.”

Now, the complete paragraph:

“This cholo, so successful as sheriff, bartender, and foreman, could also be recommended as a good Christian —he Heard the entire mass of Sunday, he believed in the sermons of the priest and in miracles of the saints,— and like a model husband —had two children by his chola Juana; he had no concubine among the local half-breed women; he slaked his sexual thirst on the Indian women whom he succeeded i violating in the ditches. — Like a big slob, —he changed his underwear every month, and his feet stank of rotting leather—.”

Note that the em dash is used as a mechanism for condensation, a spiral inside another spiral, a kind of crystallizing flask of meanings.

Regarding the second feature: Icaza, I insist, does not try no deepening into the psychological makeup of Andrés Chiliquinga —the main character-, he does not try to delve into the romantic relations of Andres Chiliquingua and his partner Cunshi. He wishes to create a collective character —the indigenous people— from which Andrés is only a moment. To achieve this, he uses a column of speech that allows multiple voices to emerge. Example:

“—Buy some potatoes-
—Buy corn.
—Buy Indian corn.
—Buy some barley meal.
—Over here, pes, housewife.
—Here it is.
—Take a look at the cabbages.
—Look at my stewed corn.
—Have a look at my ground corn.
—Come and see my potato tortillas.

—Hi, friend! Where have you been keeping yourself?

—I've been feeling mighty low, comadre.

—Mighty low.

—Housewife. Have a taste of this.

—It's very good.

—It's very tasty.

—That's enough.

—Come here, pes.

—Just come here a minute.

—I'll throw in a little extra with your purchase.

—Make it three little extras.

—Just come over here.

—Housewife. . .

—Let her see.

—Let her try it.

—Let her buy it.

—It's pretty expensive.

—It's cheap.

—What do you want, pes? Nothing is being given away.

—Nothing.

—Given away?

—Dying to get it.

—Dying to have it.

—Housewife. . .

—I want a good bit extra with a purchase.

—*Just the usual extra amount.*”

These are contrasting voices, voices or echoes of attention, of collective strumming, with which Icaza tries to evoke -never reproduce- an atmosphere that appeals to the senses: always an angular voice, a mesh of sound impulses.

Certainly, it is an abstract voice, because Icaza’s experience with that referential world could not be otherwise; he is a writer (*Generación del 30*), not an Indigenous person telling each of us his world face-to-face in a language we would not be able to understand. Icaza therefore employs literary resources that make it possible to transcend the limitation imposed by indirect experience. The function of this type of column, or better: verbal support is to create rhythm, to wind through the flexibility of that multiple voice the undulations of his narrative world. The inclusion of this kind of chorus, the integration of dramatic forms (staggered with the refrain typical of poetry) within the coherence of a novel, alludes—in its generic heterogeneity—to the historical heterogeneity that is a specific trait of our continent...

The novel, with and beyond its origins, is a form of creation particular to Latin America; it has helped shape the Latin America we have today. Hybrid works like *Huasipungo* are part of our reality, not only reflections or expressions of it, but constitutive moments.

Not only in the two mentioned stylistic aspects but also in many others—such as his use of adjectives—The purpose of Icaza is evident: to use language resources that most sharply touch the sensitivity of the reader (like rhythm, for example) to shake the reader, move them inevitably, stir them emotionally, and to de-automatize their perception of an indigenous world that, due to its everyday nature, it has become indifferent to them.

In 1988 we see elderly and young Mazahua women selling tissues on city medians, and we pay them less attention than to a red light. An indigenist novel—that tolerable oxymoron—written in 1934, can return to us the green light of curiosity, of awareness, of movement. Because sometimes literature, that “lie that makes us see the truth,” lives longer than us, its readers.

ROMANTIC INDIANISM IN "CUMANDÁ"

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The most extended opinion holds that with Mera was inaugurated the novelistic genre in Ecuador,¹ within the causes of a conservative romanticism, in the style of the author of **The Genius of Christianity** (1802).

One might wonder why Mera chose the most reactionary facet of Romanticism. Several explanations are possible, firstly, a personal reason, and ideological adaptation to his own feelings, his Catholic and political conservatism, hence the reference of Benjamín Carrion in "Cumandá: ideological propaganda that uses art... Catholic propaganda, art at the service of a doctrine"? The belief in God and in the principles to His designs can accomplish anything: Fray Domingo can be redeemed from his injustices thanks to faith, just as the converted indigenous people can feel the divine influence to the point of reaching –according to the author- a religious ecstasy:

“¿Qué pasaba en esas almas? Lo que pasa en todas las que aman a María, cuando a ella se dirigen: una dulce emoción, una inefable ternura, una confianza sin límites, un no sé qué propio de

*Note: The author presented this work as a contribution at the XXVII Congress of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature, held in Mexico City from August 22 to 26, 1988.

1. Alejandro Carrión does not think like this in his book **Trece años de cultura nacional**, Quito, for the Ecuadorian novel would have begun at the end of the 18th century, with these two works: **Viajes de Enrique Walton** by Ignacio Flores and **Carta riobambenses** by Eugenio Espejo. The vice regal centuries would have been rich in legends and traditions that were a source of posterior fiction works. Curiously enough, **Historia del reino de Quito** by the Jesuit, Velasco written in the exile, in addition to its historical value, it also offer multiple literary elements.
2. Carrión, Benjamín: **El Nuevo relato ecuatoriano**, Quito, Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1950. P. 55.

la sencilla fe cristiana y de la esperanza en la Reina del Cielo, que habla en divino lenguaje al espíritu del niño, de la joven, del guerrero, de la viuda, conforme lo han menester sus sentimientos y necesidades, sus recuerdos y aspiraciones” (Cumandá, chap. XVII).

Secondly, the character itself of Ecuadorian Romanticism. Ecuador experienced a late Romanticism –it did not have a first Romantic generation– after Olmedo, there was a silence in the development of Ecuadorian poetry. Romanticism emerged in the mid-19th century, and the journey of the Spaniard Fernando Velarde to the Pacific countries was of great importance in its establishment. He would mark a very different character for these countries than that of Romanticism in the Pampas—a French import. The territories of the Pacific coast, therefore, experienced a deliquescent Romanticism, of Spanish heritage, and, specifically, in Ecuador, recitation and legend were the most striking fruits.

Between the generation of Olmedo and the one of Mera and Zaldumbide, there is a void that the Ambateños will complain about:

“Cuando comencé mis estudios y me di a los ensayos poéticos, nuestro gran Olmedo había muerto ya, y no quedaban para el manejo de la lira sino ingenios que, faltos también de acertada dirección, andaban a ciegas y dando traspiés como yo.”³

In addition, Romanticism could not have been virulent in Ecuador, because this country was imbued with the study and veneration of the classics. The classicism of Montalvo is beyond doubt, and Mera, founder of the *Academia Ecuatoriana de la Lengua*, was a traditional writer who confessed (to Rubió) to being eclectic in literature:

“No me he alistado nunca en ninguna escuela, ni averiguado con ningún jefe... Unas veces he llamado a las puertas de una escuela, otras he penetrado en otras para dejarla luego... Sin embargo, nunca hice caso omiso del arte, y para estudiarlo y comprenderlo a mi modo, me acogí a uno como eclecticismo literario.”⁴

We should understand such eclecticism in the sense a rummager in

3. “Carta a Rubió y Lluch”, in **Ojeada histórico-crítica sobre la poesía ecuatoriana desde su época más remota hasta nuestros días**, Barcelona, Cunil Sala, 1893, 2^a. ed. 608.

4. **Ibidem**, p. 607-608.

different schools and variants of that period, that go from the customs in **Cumandá** and realisms of the **Ecuadorian novels**.

When Mera publishes **Cumandá** the most significant romantic novels had already appeared. The master piece of this period, **María**, had been on the market for twelve years, and two more editions had already been published (1869, 1878) in Colombia, in addition to serialized editions in Buenos Aires and Mexico, as well as the Chilean edition of 1877. **Amalia** (1851 – 1855) was even earlier than the Colombian novels. A whole romantic tradition of either American or foreign origin was in the air, to which one must add the personal inclination of the writer toward indigenist themes, already evident earlier in his prior verses.

However, among Ecuadorian literature, **Cumandá** does not have precedents, and although it will not have successors in the same line, one should not forget that Ecuador would later become one of the countries with the most indigenist literature output. In the 1930s, Ecuadorian novels were focused on social ills through protest and denunciation: the group from Quito, the group from Austro, the group from Guayaquil all of them came to prove this; and even if only as a small sample, in the novel *Cumandá* already contains phrases that would resonate in the future:

“Con frecuencia hacían los indios estos levantamientos contra los de la raza conquistadora, y frecuentemente, asimismo la culpa estaba de parte de los segundos por lo inhumano de su proceder con los primeros” (ch. VI).

That is why we agree with Fernando Alegría, when he says that “*la tragedia de Orozco es el resultado de la tiranía que el jefe de la familia ejerce sobre los indios y la rebelión de éstos, más que una venganza, es una protesta contra la injusticia y el abuso de que son víctimas*”.⁵ Although it is also true that Mera, faithful to his time and his beliefs, thought that the situation of the indigenous people could be redeemed through the Catholic gospel, without questioning the social structures underlying the problem. Orozco is a landowner who “owned an estate south of Riobamba,” “he was not a bad man; nevertheless, he did things typical of a very bad one,” and there is even a certain excuse for his behavior. Of course, there is not a total condemnation due to the many mitigating factors that Mera provides:

5. Alegría, Fernando: **Historia de la novela hispanoamericana**, México, Edic. de Andrea, 1974. 4ª. ed., p- 80.

“Arraigada profundamente en europeos y criollos, la costumbre de tratar a los aborígenes como a gente destinada a la humillación, la esclavitud y a los tormentos, los colonos de más buenas entrañas no creían faltar a los deberes de la caridad y de la civilización con oprimirlos y martirizarlos” (ch. VI)

And later he continues:

“Con todo, fray Domingo (Orozco) quiso aprovechar de él e indemnizar a los indios en lo posible, el daño que les había causado; para esto pensaba que lo mejor sería consagrarse al servicio de las misiones (ch. VI).

In addition, the posture of Mera is abided to two main points. First, the complaining against the situation of abandonment that the indigenous person faced in the jungle because of governmental negligence. That is how it is recognized in *carta a Varela*:

“En mis escritos, en las legislaturas a que he concurrido, en los empleos que he desempeñado, he sido defensor constante de los indios contra las preocupaciones y los abusos de a gente de mi raza; pero los abusos y las preocupaciones han sido más poderosos que todos mis razonamientos y mis esfuerzos... la herencia de los vicios y defectos de nuestros abuelos no ha desaparecido del todo entre nosotros, y sirve de rémora, no sólo al mejoramiento de la condición de los indígenas, en buena parte sujetos aún a injusto y duro trato, sino también al progreso de los mismos que nos ufamamos de pertenecer a una raza superior”.⁸

Those are words that work as linking to the second point that we can find in this novel, the confirmation of the bad treating that the indigenous people received by some of the heartless people, which caused those logical reaction in them.

Facing this situation, Mera, as Catholics, will praise the positive labor of the Jesuit missions in Ecuador (ch. V), as well as he proposes as a solution the spiritual guidance embodied in the respective fathers of Cumandá: Fray Domingo and Tubón. The budding social purpose of this novel cannot be overlooked, even if it would take several more decades for a more open and uncompromising protest to emerge under different the ideologies.

6. Ojeada, op. cit., p. 545 y p. 553.

The concerns for the indigenous persons and the racial hatred pointed out here would deepen in the subsequent Ecuadorian narrative. In this way, the social contrast between races will show up in novels like *Eglóga trágica* (1910) by Gonzalo Zaldumbide and in *La embrujada* (1925), and *Plata y bronce* (1927) by Fernando Chaves. But it is with Luis A. Martínez and his novel *A la costa* (1904) when all the perspectives are open, and those will germinate into the next generation, the one of Icaza, Chávez, Rojas, Gil Gilbert, Aguilera Malta, etc., abided both to the social and ethnical matters, as well as the political and geographical divisions of the country.

But the concern for the indigenous person of Mera can be examined from another perspective. It is now common to claim that his narrative lost strength by focusing on the indigenous person of the eastern region, thus avoiding the social problems that, at the time, were more acute to the indigenous person in other regions different from the amazon rainforest, such as the one he was born in. And although Navas Ruiz may be partially right when he says:

“Export a situação dos índios o rodeavam... supunhe uma ruptura radical com seus hábitos mentais o também com sua condição de homem público. Qualquer tentativa de poetizar realidade tão cruel teria sido redicula. Mera recorre então, a um dos processos com que o romantismo o brindava: a fuga no espaço. Procura um cenário desconhecido de seus compatriotas por mais que deles estivesse. a selva amazônica”⁷

At least we should admit that no matter how unknown the Amazon region was, its landscape and its inhabitants are part of the national territory. One could not compare this spatial distancing to that of Chateaubriand, which set the scenario of *Atala* (1801) so far physically far from Europe.

The indigenous people theme in the work of Mera must be connected with a long tradition that comes from the early days of the conquest, a tradition that has explored the native from various perspectives, legal, political, aesthetic, or philosophical, and eventually leading to nineteenth-century narrative through unique paths.

The idealization of the indigenous person is one of the most frequently handled facets of Romantic narrative, just as with *costumbrismo*. Interestingly, both tendencies define the narrative vein of the Ecuadorian.

7. Navas Tuíz, Ricardo: “Notas para o estudo de *Cumandá*”, *Pressupostos críticos*; São Paulo, 1965, p. 63.

However, *Cumandá* also shares traits of the other novelistic forms, such as the sentimental novel, since it tells the story of a frustrated love, like *María* – although it is not a contemporary matter-; of the historical novel, by using as pretext for the core of the story, the uprising of the indigenous people of Guamote-Columbe, which occurred at the end of the 18th century. Despite its hybrid nature, a frequent feature in the 19th-century Hispanic-American novels it has its own hallmark: racial conflict. Beyond continental or foreign influences (Saint Pierre, Chateaubriand, and Cooper), **Cumandá** is related to an American tradition: **Cecilia Valdés** (1882) by Cirilo Villaverde, **Francisco** (1880, year of publication) by Anselmo Suárez and Romero, or **Sab** (1841) by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, works that also present a specific racial conflict. But the hostility between indigenous and white people, also has concrete precedents during that same century: **Caramurú** (1853) by Alejandro Magariños Cervantes evokes the conflict between the Charrúa and Spanish races, dealing with a platonic love affair between an indigenous man and a white woman. It aligns with **Cumandá** in presenting the beauty of the natural environment in opposition to civilization. In Megariños, it is the pampas; in Mera, the jungle.

Venezuela, where the where sedentary indigenous populations were practically nonexistent, has in **Anaida** (1860) by José Ramón Yepes the same love for the local landscape and indigenous customs as those of **Cumandá**, as it recreates the dispute between two caciques for the love of the heroine.

In this entire indianist current, widely developed in the 19th century, a double heritage had influence: the Spaniard one, through the works of chroniclers and poets; and the foreign one, primarily French. Throughout the colonial centuries, various voices kept alive the flame ignited in favor of the “natural man.” Las Casas, Ercilla, Garcilaso, the exiled Jesuits, etc., all contributed with their works to the flowering of European utopianism, which would later feed into Hispanic American Romanticism. Las Casas, with his staunch defense and protection of the aborigine, whom he endowed with virtues, would lament the treatment they received by the others; Garcilaso, through his idyllic portrayal of the Incan world, would express nostalgia for the greatness of a lost civilization; Ercilla, in his praise of the resistance and valor of the Araucanian people, would create long-lasting symbols: proud and indomitable warriors such as Lautaro, Caupolicán, Colocolo; passionate heroines and loyal in love: Guacolda, Tegralda, Lauca, Fresia. His work also echoed social complaint, and as well painted a picturesque picture of the celebration of assemblies and the description of aboriginal mythologies,

resources we will see again in romantic novels about indigenous people. In the 17th century, two humanists, Clavijero and Cavo, in their arguments for the capability of the indigenous people, would lament their destruction and carefully observe the errors made by the European people in judging the authentic.

To all this tradition concerned with the fate of the indigenous people, we must add the emergence of an Indianist current in France that lasted until the end of the 18th century; and it was inspired by Las Casas and Garcilaso, its first advocate was Montaigne, with **Of Cannibals** (1580). With Voltaire, that philanthropic feeling toward the indigenous people reappeared, both his tragedy *Alzire* (1736) and his novel **Candide** (1759) are good examples. Rousseau, although reinforcing the idea of the superiority of the natural man over the civilized one, influenced even more through his conception of nature, when he associated it with the emotions of the characters. Through Saint-Pierre and Chateaubriand, the entire Rousseauian concept of nature would be rechanneled. In 1777, Marmontel wrote **The Incas**, where some romantic traits that would pass into the novels of America were already appearing (such as the use of storms, for example). His work was already circulating in Hispanic America by 1835 and it is considered the vehicle for transmitting the ideas of Las Casas and Garcilaso.

Perhaps the most significant models were Saint-Pierre and the author of **Atala**, the popularity of the Viscount Chateaubriand was such that the first Spanish translation of *Atala* was carried out by the Mexican friar Servando Teresa de Mier in 1801. Throughout the century, his prestige would be felt almost continuously (Mera himself cites him in the prologue to his novel), in poetry as well as in dramas or novels. Even in Ecuador, Olmedo had been inspired by **Atala** for his "*Indigenous Song*". Rodó, always attentive to the literary development of America, reflected the situation with these words: "*al indio de la filantropía y las ficciones patriarcales sucedió el del amor interesante y melancólico; al indio de **Los Incas y alzire**, el de **Atala y Les Natchez**.*"⁸

"Imitando a Chateaubriand nuestros novelistas descubren el paisaje de América y lo interpretan con sentimientos lírico. . . ;

8. Rodó, J. E.: "*El mirado de Próspero*", en **Obras completas**, Madrid, Aguilar, 1957, p. 711. For the aspect of influence, see: Concha Meléndez, **La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica**, Ríos Piedras, 1961, p. 38 – 64.
9. Alegría, Fernando: "*Aspectos fundamentales de la novela romántica*", en **La novela romántica latinoamericana**, La Habana, Casa de las Américas, 1978, p. 121.

incorporan vocablos indígenas enriqueciendo así el lenguaje literario; acumulan datos sobre costumbres y tradiciones; dramatizan leyendas autóctonas.”⁹

The most accomplished fruits of this literary movement would emerge throughout the first half of the century.

Cumandá inserts itself between this wide current, which probably was initiated with the work of the Mexican author Lafragua, **Netzula** (1832). The explanation of the phenomenon lies, on the one hand, in the humanitarian and moral conception of the liberal thought, heir to the Enlightenment ideals of the 18th century; and on the other hand, in the search for an original and distinctive expression of America, aligned with Romanticism. If in the 19th century the indigenous world is interpreted with the codes of a Christian Catholic worldview, later, positivist and Marxist schools of thought would replace the former.

It is also worth adding how, with Independence, the fate of the indigenous people did not improve. Mera himself tells us so in his novel: “*Si las razas blanca y mestizo han obtenido inmensos beneficios de la independencia, no así la indígena*” only to clarify shortly after: “*para las primeras el sol de la libertad ascendiendo al cenit, aunque frecuentemente oscurecido por negras nubes; para la última comienza apenas a rayar la aurora*” (Chapter VI). This statement does not mean that Mera intended to address the indigenous people of his own time, since the episode he narrates takes place at the end of the 18th century, and its consequences extend up to 1808, the time in which the novel is set, when Ecuador had not yet achieved Independence. Therefore, in the Indigenous universe portrayed in the novel belongs to the past, remaining faithful to the temporal distance favored by Romanticism.