

**An Unholy Rebellion: Political Ideology and Insurrection in the Mayan *Popul Vuh* and  
the Andean *Huarochiri Manuscript***

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**Sharonah Esther Fredrick**

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**Stony Brook University**

The Graduate School

**Sharonah Esther Fredrick**

We, the dissertation committee for the above candidate for the  
Doctor of Philosophy degree, hereby recommend  
acceptance of this dissertation.

**Paul Firbas – Dissertation Advisor**  
**Associate Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literature**

**Kathleen Vernon – Department Chairperson**  
**Associate Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literature**

**Victoriano Roncero Lopez-Chairperson of Defense**  
**Full Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literature**

**Adrián Pérez Melgosa**  
**Associate Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literature**

**Clare Carroll**  
**Professor and Director, Renaissance Studies Certificate**  
**Graduate Center-City University of New York (CUNY)**

This dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber  
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Dissertation

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When the great Peruvian writer Jose Maria Arguedas observed that *the Huarochiri Manuscript* was a sort of *Popul Vuh* of Peruvian antiquity, he may or may not have perceived, (he does not elaborate) that the similarity was based on an extraordinary cynicism that pervaded both of these Native American manuscripts in the context of Spanish colonial America. The cynicism was directed at the “Divine,” at colonial-style Catholicism but not only; Native American (Mayan and Andean) religion came in for a drubbing as well. Whatever the differences extant between Mayan and non-Incan Andean cosmologies, there is an undeniable narrative parallelism between the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, arising from the political fragmentation and cultural heterogeneity that characterize Andean and Mayan regions to this day. This confusing but intellectually rich state of affairs led to a questioning of authority per se, and this dissertation explores this factious attitude, and its historical roots, in these seminal literary works of Colonial Native America.

The oral and later written Andean literature, and the written (and following the 1562 ecclesiastical burning of the Yucatan codices) later oral Mayan literature is inseparable from a re-reading of the Hispanic colonial sources. Taken together, they paint a provocative picture of cultural/indigenous resistance in the colonial world. But the situation cannot be reduced to a simple black-white equation. Women and children complicate this equation, assuming leadership capacities that contradict all the cultures in question. What makes the epics of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* and the *Popul Vuh* extraordinary is their rejection of Native American forms of empire as much as the European variants. This work investigates the roots of that insubordination, applying a multidisciplinary approach that utilizes history, literature, archaeology, and anthropology in equal measure. Why did the Mayans and the non-Incan Andeans fight on, long after the larger and more centralized Aztec and Incan empires had disappeared? Important hints lie in these literary epics, later substantiated by the historical and archaeological investigation that forms the backdrop of this dissertation.

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## **Introduction: Cosmologies in Collision: Ideology and Historical Background of the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript***

### *I. Subversive Bibles*

In 1966, Jose Maria Arguedas observed that the *Huarochiri Manuscript* was “a sort of *Popul Vuh* of Peruvian antiquity; a small regional Bible...” (Arguedas 1966, 9). The author referred to the irony of quintessentially indigenous texts written in a Latin alphabet. There is another similarity that Arguedas did not explore: indigenous subversion against their own gods, and divinity itself. Philosophically, the text of the *Popul Vuh*,<sup>1</sup> compiled in Quetzaltenango (Chichicastenango) Guatemala in Quiche Maya during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century and disseminated two centuries later, and the text of the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, compiled in Quechua at the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the coastal highlands near Lima and disseminated in incomplete form beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, maintain combative relationships with any and all deities.

Their respective plots project cynicism towards the divine, despite retelling histories of their gods. They are sacred narratives that challenge the sacral. But like the Bible minus its awe, both epics reveal multiple chronological, historical and ideological layers, obliging the reader of the *Popul Vuh* (*PV*) and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* (*HM*) to engage in archaeological research clarifying the texts’ themes. Varied stratigraphy of history, thought, and conflict unfold, illustrating cosmologies that distrust their Creators. For Mayan and Andean spirituality, supernatural powers are neither always wise nor good. Their religions lack the resignation

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<sup>1</sup> Translation: “book of the counsel mat” in Soustelle’s *Los Mayas* 1992, 148.

displayed by Aztecs and monotheists towards God(s)'mysterious whims. In fact, their documents offer detailed instructions for jousting with celestial evil.

In this thesis I will compare the structural, historical, and ideological elements uniting the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri Manuscript*. This structuralism has its weak points, particularly the imposition of synchronic space over cultures diverging in outlook, context, and historical development. Therefore, I will harmonize structural analysis with anthropological and historical contextualization of Amerindian colonial literature. Archaeology and anthropology are key intellectual tools that illuminate the Native American thought first truncated and then transformed by the Conquest.

If we downplay archaeological and historical correlation with colonial indigenous literature, we de-emphasize the indigenous literary imagination, and wrongly attribute its inventions to European colonial models. This common error, intentional or not, arises from ignorance of Mesoamerican and Andean archaeology. Specialists in those fields, such as Tatiana Proskouriakoff and Julio Tello, have legitimated beyond all doubt the pre-colonial antiquity of Andean and Mayan legends in the *HM* and the *PV*.<sup>2</sup> Europe is not the sole paragon.

In essays on the nature of mythology, Claude Levy Strauss highlights the nexus binding the non-temporal structure of legends with the legends' connection to the events of human history: "What gives the myth an operative value is that.....it explains the present and the past as well as the future. This can be made clear through a comparison between myth and what [...]"

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<sup>2</sup> Rene Acuna's *Temas del Popul Vuh* (1998), whose Eurocentrism subjugated Mayan to European Renaissance discourse, showed an alarming level of ignorance of Mayan sources. Recently, archaeologists and art historians such as Ricardo Agurcia and Justin Kerr proved via painted, hieroglyphic, and sculpted evidence that the themes of the *Popul Vuh* existed 2,000 years before European presence. The Denver Art Museum retains a collection of jars from the Mayan Classic period, 200 to 900 ACE, that visually recount the *Popul Vuh*'s epic; from the same period, in Northern Coastal Peru, near Sipan, images of cannibal gods and birdmen foreshadow episodes of *Huarochiri*.

replaced it in modern societies, namely, politics” (Levy Strauss. “The Structural Study of Myth” 187). The *PV* and the *HM* are inherently subversive, and their narratives deride obedience.

Given this connection between politics and myth, I will analyze the epics as a verbal staging of the ideas and values of two societies: the Mayan and the Andean poured into the colonial Mestizo matrix. Both Native American epics assumed, due to Colonial strictures, the very Western materialization of the book. In other words, the *PV* and the *HM* exemplify Mayan and Andean intellectual perspectives, combative and skeptical, evolving through the Conquest. The imperial element, be it Aztec, Inca, or Spanish, was interpolated into the praxis of older indigenous universes. In essence, indigenous literature decolonized the Native American mindset by touting its obstreperous voice within the framework of the Colony.

The internal conflicts of the Yuncas and Yauyos, whose societies predated and outlasted the Incas, form the backdrop of *Huarochiri*.<sup>3</sup> Their ambivalent rejection of the Inca expansion of the 15<sup>th</sup> century dominates six chapters of the *Manuscript*: 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23. Their geographical location, which made Yuncas and Yauyos fair game for coastal and highland conquerors, forced them to develop survival techniques of circumlocution: when the empire was too big to oppose, skirt around it. At the same time the discontent and factionalism of the Mayan populations-the Quiche, the Kekchi, so recalcitrant that the Crown called their territory “lands of war” and forbade the entry of Spanish nationals therein. Earlier Mayan groups, the Yucatec, and the Cakchiquel, had revolted against Aztec overlords and butchered their own priests/gods, simultaneously. In the third division of the *Popul Vuh*, from Chapter 25 through

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<sup>3</sup> Frank Salomon confirmed ethnic and economic divisions among these groups, as reflected in the composition of the text: “The predominant tellers of the Huarochiri myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindred were not Yauyo, but Yunca.” Archaeological evidence from Huarochiri suggested the Yauyos “had won dominion over the Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca huacas into their religion, while their compatriots still wandered the heights in mono-ethnic pastoral groups” (Salomon and Urioste 7). Colonial chronicler Cieza de Leon also demarcates Yunca and Yauyo cultures clearly, though both diverged much more from the Incas than each other.

45, Tohil, the High Priest, is a trickster who impersonates a deity in order to implement human sacrifice.

For all their supernatural accoutrements, the core of both texts is frankly political. Levy-Strauss perceived that politics had replaced the role of myth in modern society; the *PV* and the *HM* incarnate the roots of this transition/substitution process. Their myths shake the Worlds Above and Below, as well as the liminal space in between, which we inhabit and where the stories in large part transpire.

While inserted in colonial reality, the *HM* and the *PV* narrate older histories that enshrined a type of rebelliousness at odds with Spanish Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Before the Incas subjugated the Andean world in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century, and before the Aztecs attempted to crush the Mayan kingdoms in the early 16<sup>th</sup>, the protagonists who enliven the pages of the *PV* and the *HM* had been painted and sculpted and invoked throughout the sacred geography of Mesoamerica and the Andes. Following the collapse of Aztec and Inca might, older indigenous identities, the Maya, the Yuncas and Yauyos, reaffirm themselves in the chaos engendered by the Spanish Conquest. The *PV* and the *HM* express this reaffirmation. In a sense, the *PV* and the *HM* are self-referential, living political theatre. This literature is comprised of concepts shared by the Native American audiences and later by their mestizo descendants. It may have begun orally, as did the epics of medieval Castile. In Old and New Worlds, popular entertainment was later consecrated in written, or painted and sculpted form. The Spanish Conquest is interwoven into both texts, but it does not dominate either of them. Different world-views are clearly visible: Mayan, Yunca/Yauyo, Spanish, and mestizo. These oppositions are never resolved, and their contradictions constitute the richest and most profound well-spring of colonial Native American literature.

The texts are at once part of a shamanic ancient American continuum and of the agonistic dialogue initiated by the Conquest. The *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* are products of adverse and impossible conditions, where tensions created literature in a state of complex transition. This is the literature of war, and war brings out the worst in most, and heroism in only a few. Small wonder that Mayan and Andean (non-Incan) perspectives distrusted gods and men equally.

Doubtless the disseminators of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*, Father Francisco Jiménez and Father Francisco de Avila, would have been loath to approach such sacrilege<sup>4</sup>; this literature, in which the philosophy of the indigenous peoples predominated, was viewed as proof of their heretical nature. The *PV* and the *HM* were not destined for general publication, but for theological, evangelical, and above all, punitive use against Mayan and Andean recidivists. Both texts question the order of the universe, which can be altered for the better; and both question the blind submission to authority as such. They bounce back and forth from irreverence to blasphemy, whether it is the Hero Twins of the *Popul Vuh* sending a mosquito to literally pique the Underworld gods; or whether it is the little, impertinent fox mocking the amorous pretensions of the venerated creator god, in the second chapter of *Huarochiri*.

## II. *The Progression from Myth to History*

Authority in Mayab and in the Andes was stubbornly multi-polar; even at the height of their empire, Inca royalty remained divided. Mayan centers of political organization multiplied frenetically from the Guatemalan Pacific Highlands, site of the *PV*'s foundational myths, to the

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<sup>4</sup> Later in Chapter One, we will discuss in more detail the presence of these two priests, whose mediation, censure, and interpretation imposed itself on the first translations of the works into Western languages. Their insufficient knowledge of Quiche Maya and the Quechua of Huarochiri (which was the language of the *Manuscript* but not the mother tongue of the Yunca/Yauyo informants), and their religious fundamentalism obstructed textual comprehension even while, ironically, it transmitted the texts and preserved them.

Yucatec Atlantic coast, where a military elite arose that challenged the earlier Maya powers. Beginning in the first century ACE, small-scale civil war predominated. Tikal (Guatemala) fought Calakmul (Yucatan-Campeche), accelerating their mutual declines in the eighth century. Palenque attempted to remain autonomous, but fell under Tikal's sway, exciting Calakmul's ire. Chichen Itza (1100-1400 ACE), Mayapan (1200-1500), and Tayasal (1500-1697) formed and un-formed confederations that never outlasted the 300-year mark. Mayans lived in a state of unremitting political tension, a tension which insinuates itself into the portrait of human-divine relations in the *Popul Vuh*. Mayans were not naturally compliant, as the Conquistadors found; but why submit to European gods when you had no history of obedience, (as the Aztecs and Europeans had), to your own?

Turning to the Andes, the armies that attempted to unify its vast and awe-inspiring terrain, the Wari in the twelfth century and the Incas 200 years later could only establish uniform systems of tribute. But the Andean cultural mosaic never became homogenized. By the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Inca Empire had bifurcated formally, with Quito usurping the founding dynasties of Cuzco. The twenty-third chapter of the *HM*, in which Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui (1471-1493) succumbs to a temper tantrum when his gods fail to come to his aid, satirizes the young prince named sovereign at the age of fifteen, as much as it demonstrates the disdain that his subjects in Huarochiri's Lurin Valley felt towards Inca rule.

Although Inca hegemony had imploded before the compilation of the *Huarochiri* text, (1598-1609), the cultural memory of the *HM* (Salomon and Urioste, 1-3) reflected the historical attitudes of its indigenous, non-Incan, population. This occurred as well in Central America, where the third chapter of the *Popul Vuh* recorded the ever-splintering state of Mayan clans and city-states. (In later mestizo society, the Native American texts assume a wider importance in

the Spanish language and Amerindian world-view, re: Arguedas and Valcarcel in Peru, Mediz Bolio in Yucatan, and Miguel Asturias in Guatemala).

The hecatomb of Aztec and Inca empires (1521 and 1534-1572, respectively), encouraged the antipathy Mayans and Yuncas and Yauyos had always felt towards the more centralized Nahua and Incan states. This antipathy grew exponentially following Spain's invasions, when the venerated Nahua and Incan empires failed, the Aztecs miserably and the Incas nobly, in their confrontation with the Conquistador. Mayan and Andean cases signal a pattern characterizing the entire Colonial period. Other less "centralized" groups, such as the Mapuches of the Argentine and Chilean pampa and the Apaches of the Mexican northwest, also continued resisting the Spanish crown. The collapse of imperial Native American ideologies led to a resurgence of pre-imperial Native American cosmologies, and de-centralized cosmologies challenged European imperialism more successfully.

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* share a long-rooted hatred of Native and/or foreign structures of centralized authority, so Conquistadors were fought as Aztecs and Incas had been. Mayan and Andean lack of internal cohesion helped in sustaining resistance to Spain, as it was not so easy to cut off the head of an empire if the empire had no head. The Inca Empire, less monolithic than the Aztec, subsisted with two heads that constantly battled each other, evoking, and perhaps inspiring, the petroglyphs of the bi-cephalous Andean chimera, Amaru. Unlike the fatalistic Aztecs, Mayans and Andeans saw nothing unitary, or inevitable, about Empire.

Due to Colonial censorship, the *PV* and the *HM* share a superficial acceptance of Christian dominance, which does not interfere with their original belief systems. Both books begin and end in the Spanish colony, a fact recognized overtly in the narratives. This notwithstanding, the *PV* and the *HM* recognize non-Christian religion not as a remnant or fossil,

but as the vigorous counterpart of the Evangelization. They commemorate and transmit the ups and downs of their gods and heroes and also their villains, silenced but not annihilated by the Conquest. They come to life on the page, incorrigible and factious. The first chapter of the *Popul Vuh* juxtaposes the order imposed by the Conquest with the Mayan faith: “We will paint what happened before God’s word, before Christianity; we will reproduce it here because we no longer have the vision of the Book of Counsel, the vision of dawn, the vision that came from beside the sea, of our life in the shadow and of the dawn of life” (*Popul Vuh* Raynaud, Asturias and Mendoza 2). Centuries of Conquest and colonization in Mayan gave rise to a kaleidoscopic and fragmentary outlook. The *Popul Vuh* collected those fragments from before and after the Spanish Conquest, without welding the fragments together. Its narration emphasized the unsettling otherness of its brilliant and disjointed components, in an unresolvable duet. This non-Christian dawn of life was immortalized by one of the components of Spanish power: the phonetic writing that had forcibly replaced Mayan syllabic hieroglyphs.

Now the Mayan scribes used what the Conquest had imposed in order to perpetuate and adapt pre-Conquest content. For its part, the *Huarochiri Manuscript* testified to the continuation of pre-Christian ceremonies, skillfully adapted to and concealed from the brutal extirpations of Andean idolatry, existing in a “grey zone” between Spanish Catholicism and the persecuted Andean religions. Rituals were transmitted in code, using the same strategies of cultural resistance displayed by Crypto-Jews and Muslims in post-1492 Spanish territory<sup>5</sup>. Unobtrusive little guinea pigs were substituted by Andeans for llamas in ceremonies that honored the

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<sup>5</sup> Vicente Santuc, in his introduction to the 2009 re-edition of Arguedas’ edition of *Huarochiri*, remarks that that manuscript makes use of a “testimonial subject using a discourse of resistance in opposition to the Crown and its policies of forced conversion” (*Manuscrito de los hombres y dioses de Huarochiri* 2009 X).



*huacas*, the sacred ancestor-stones, of the lake of Allauca. The guinea pig would draw less attention from than the more obtrusive llama<sup>6</sup>...it was hoped.

The anti-authoritarianism of Mayan and Andean culture, and their discomfort with earthly and supernatural dictates, is patent in pre-Columbian times. Sylvanus Morley, excavating in Central America during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, observed that the Maya had little patience for the inefficiency of their own leaders, even during the more hierarchical Classic period, at the height of the militarized city-states (100-900 ACE). “Needless to say, sudden catastrophes, like the capture of a ruler by a rival entity, or disasters of a more lasting nature, such as bad consecutive harvests.....could shatter, and did so frequently, faith in the potentate’s powers, throwing the entire system into doubt” (Robert Sharer. *La Civilización Maya* 80). [My translation].

The Mayas’ Andean counterparts were afflicted by-or blessed with-the same tendency towards insubordination. In the Andes too there were constant internal uprisings, whatever the dominant empire of the moment. Yuncas and Yauyos had fought without success against the troops of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A century later, their defiance and factiousness were noted by Spanish chronicler Cieza de Leon. In 1553, he wrote in Chapter XLIV of his *Cronicas de Incas* that the Pax Incaica offered by Tupac Yupanqui to the Huancas and the Yauyos was followed by the use of force when these inhabitants of the Lurin Valley decided to refuse the Inca’s “friendship” (Cieza de Leon. *Cronicas* 147). In his chapter LVIII, Leon remarks that the Yunca god Pachacamac was left alone by the Inca Conquistador, who desisted from his idea of destroying Pachacamac’s altar and erecting one to the Inca Sun god,

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<sup>6</sup> Salomon and Urioste, in their edition of *Huarochiri* (Section 387, Chapter 30) refer to the use of guinea pigs, and of ticti, a food made from ritual corn beer, in Allauca ceremonies enacted three generations after the Conquest.

Inti (Cieza. 169)<sup>7</sup>. Centuries afterwards, in 1750, it was again the inhabitants of Huarochiri who revolted against the exploitation of the Spanish colonial factories, the “obrajes” (O’Phelan Godoy. *La Gran Rebelion en los Andes: De Tupac Amaru a Tupac Catari* 188). And Huarochiri’s Indian inhabitants joined again in the second Tupac Amaru’s 1783 rebellion.

Incessant fragmentation enabled Mayan and Andean polities to hold their own against European incursions. For the former cultures, no apocalypse was definitive. Rather, the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* proposed cycles of cataclysms and rebirths. In this cycle, the Man, (and Man’s four-legged brothers), may confabulate together, or not, against gods and kings. In the twenty-first chapter of the *Popul Vuh* Hunahpu, (One Hunter), Twin player of the infernal ball game, is beheaded by, literally, a “bat out of hell.” This is the animal the Maya call “tzotz,” denizen of the Underworld, Xibalba. Fortunately, Hunahpu revives with the aid of his Twin Ixbalaamque, whose name means either stag or female, (*ix*) and “jaguar” (*balaam*). Ixbalaamque summons the turtle’s assistance, and his shell is temporarily substituted for Hunahpu’s head. Animals may help or hinder, and assuming their characteristics denotes a hero’s valor. Listening to animals denotes a human’s intelligence, as the third chapter of Huarochiri makes clear: those who survive the deluge are those who heed the llama’s warning. Insubordination in these epics is universal, encompassing the entire planet’s species.

Levy-Strauss’ maxim equating mythology and politics is undeniable. All mythological epics, including the Bible and the Koran, reflect the political postures of the time in which they were composed. The *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* reflect the insurgent mentalities of those who composed them; like the Bible and the Koran, they can be interpreted beyond their

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<sup>7</sup> Cieza also notes that the eleventh Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, used to send separate ambassadors to the Yuncas and the Yauyos (Cieza, 183) confirming the autonomous cultural and political spheres of the peoples of Huarochiri.

chronological context. But comprehension of Mayan and Andean beliefs is a sine qua non for understanding these texts, which recognize colonial reality but are not shaped by it.

Villcapampa<sup>8</sup> arose as a rebel stronghold, following the beheading of Atahualpa in 1534, uniting Incas with their erstwhile disdained subordinates, the peoples of the Amazon. (Contemporary Peruvian archaeologists, such as Luis Jaime Castillo, suggest that the origins of Inca culture may indeed lie in the Amazon and not in Titicaca). That stronghold was crushed in 1572, but it was the trigger for other Andean rebellions that lasted well over 200 years. These uprisings embraced a gamut of political stances, from the more populist Aymara cacique Tupac Catari (d.1781) who preached a pan-Indian cause, to the mestizo land-owner Gabriel Condorcanqui (d. 1781) better known as Tupac Amaru II, whose platform evoked the resurgent Incan aristocracy of his time. Elitism and populism alternated in Andean insubordination.

Like Peru, the Mayan territories symbolized irredentist positions vis-à-vis the Spanish crown. When one city-state was laid waste, another one recouped. This process endured until the subjugation of Tayasal, the last independent Mayan city state, an island in Guatemala's Petén region that retained Mayan religion and written language till 1697. But even Tayasal's defeat was not definitive. The 18<sup>th</sup> century in Mayab ushered in another series of political explosions, most importantly that of the mestizo Jacinto Can Ek in 1761, against the plantation owners of Campeche. According to John Lloyd Stephens, the Can Ek clan was believed to have been among the last high-priests of Tayasal, (Bonor-Villarejo. *Viaje a Yucatan* Chap. XI, 152). Whatever the truth regarding Jacinto's lineage, the use of ancient Mayan symbols, the star (*ek*) in conjunction with the celestial serpent (*can*) evoking the Milky Way, symbol of the Mayan World Tree Axis, provided the insurrection with unifying slogans. Like Tupac Amaru II, Jacinto

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<sup>8</sup> The name may be spelled either Villcabamba or Villcapampa, depending on the variant of Quechua spoken, and is comprised of two words: "vilca" meaning spirit and "pampa" meaning a wide plain, as per the Pampa in Argentina.

Can Ek represented a mestizo identity which, while speaking Spanish, identified with the Native cultures. Both Tupac and Jacinto Can Ek adapted a pre-Conquest iconography and utilized it to end colonial rule.

Monolithic states/confederations were easier to supplant, and this is how the Conquest simply swallowed the Aztec mother goddess Tonantzin in the matrix of the Virgin Mary. To Imperial Spain's chagrin, the Aztec collapse did not replicate itself in Mayab or the Andes. Where factionalism held sway, the Conquest succumbed to the reigning political chaos. The conquest was also culturally redefined, and in Peru and Mayab, as opposed to the Mexican Valley, the indigenous element alternated with the European in terms of societal dominance.

In contrast with the Aztecs, the *PV* and the *HM* present us with recalcitrant deities who will not be subsumed into the Catholic pantheon. *Huarochiri* exalted the sexually insatiable Chaupi Namca, the five-winged or five-armed goddess, whose metamorphosis in votive idol turned upside-down flaunted her sexual organs for all to see. And the *Popul Vuh* lauded the renegade and incorrigible Ixq'iq, who ridiculed her father, an underworld deity of Xibalba, by tricking him with the resin of the dragon-blood tree. She substitutes fake sacrificial blood: a dishonest and intelligent ruse. Neither one of these goddesses, neither the virago nor the upstart, could fuse with the solicitous Virgin Mary, as the more docile and accommodating Tonantzin had done. What allowed Maya and Andean non-Incan peoples to survive intellectually was precisely this lack of submissiveness, in tandem with the lack of political centralization evident in the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. The supposed colonial "synthesis," which apologists for the Conquest are so fond of citing, and imagining, is unresolved in the Andes and Mayab. Their literature perpetuates indigenous cosmologies. Further on, when Mayan and Andean cosmogonies Americanized and absorbed Christianity, they adjusted Christianity to their needs,

instead of tailoring it to the Colonial Church. The “talking crosses” of the 19<sup>th</sup> century War of the Castes in Yucatan incited peasants’ unrest, whereas the Guadalupe of the Mexican Valley promised the peasants justice only after death. In Andean space, Christianity shared Andean altars, as it still does in pilgrimages to the glacier Coyllor Ritti, but it does not displace them: Christ and Inti are invoked together, twin facets of the same natural forces of snow and water.

### *III. Synthesis and Cultural Confrontation in the Texts*

The *PV* and the *HM* reflect the socio-political order of the Colony, with white Europeans occupying the uppermost rungs. Although the white, Hispanic element wends its way into the indigenous/American matrix, it remains a disparate factor within indigenous narration. Hispanic time schemes are looked at by Mayan and Andean eyes with ambiguity, and subsequently incorporated into indigenous cycles. In Chapter Three of my thesis I will underline the points of convergence and divergence in the time-space schemes of Andeans, Mayans and Christians, which clash more than intersect.

The act of transcribing Mayan and Andean cosmologies in the Latin alphabet implied a metamorphosis on the external level of form, which in no way twisted or even influenced the axiological and etiological, Mayan and Andean, content of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh*. In the writing of the epics, the words “Indian,” “Spaniard,” “Maya” and “Yauyo” refer to categories that had undergone colonial modification, but still alluded to recognizably separate peoples. The primary difference between the two books resides in the more splintered character of Maya society and the slightly better co-existence between Yuncas and Yauyos in the *HM*. The term “Maya-Quiche” and their riotous cousins, the “Cakchiquel” I have taken

directly from the *Popul Vuh*: that book is written in the language of the Quiche Maya. At present 6,000,000 Maya, including the Quiche and the Cakchiquel, speak, read, and write their languages. The term “Andeans,” is a neologism that I use to refer to the hybrid nature of Yunca and Yauyo culture, chafing under Inca Quechua control, in *Huarochiri*. That last point has led to confusion. The Quechua tongue was imposed by Incan armies in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century as a lingua franca in the zone of Huarochiri, among Yunca and Yauyo peoples whose language bears more relation with the Moche of the Peruvian north. Yet even the eminent Gordon Brotherston wrongly referred to *Huarochiri* as an “Incan text” (*La America Indigena en su Literatura* 71-72). Despite writing in Quechua, neither the Yunca/Yauyo authors of the *HM* would have referred to themselves as “Incas” nor been flattered by the term. Tupac Yupanqui’s conquest of Huarochiri was viewed by them in the same light as the Inquisition’s subsequent persecution (documented so well by Karen Spalding) of Huarochiri’s native religion.

Andeans, Mayans, and the Spaniards of the 16<sup>th</sup> century lived in worlds that were ethnically heterogeneous and politically violent. In the volatile aftermath of the Spanish Conquest, the *PV* and the *HM* convey discord, and question, justifiably, any moral rectitude in the universe. Is there any evidence to suggest God/the gods are good? In this polyphony of colonial voices, one element stands clear: Divine plans are not to be accepted. They can be wrong. Mayan and Andean cultures as they evolved before the Conquest and beyond are often angry and unsatisfied, and understanding them is a key for the comprehension of these texts.

The close of the 15<sup>th</sup> century marked the height of Inca military expansion from Northwest Argentina to the southern highlands of Colombia. Archaeologists Walter Alva and Maria Longhena note that “the empire was not unified but rather a vast confederation of ethnic groups with their own cultural and linguistic characteristics, only tied to Cuzco by treaties and

alliances...”(*The Incas and Other Andean Civilizations*, 58). The Incas had not created an “Andean consciousness” nor had they been the first to unify that huge territory running from Bolivia’s highland plateaus to Ecuador’s’ peaks. That honor belonged to the Wari, denizens of the Tiahuanaco area, who from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries forged a system of military crossroads that outshone Rome’s, traversing the extremes of sea, desert, and mountain. Commencing in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Incas improved upon the Wari’s vial masterpiece, and the Huarochiri/Lurin Valley region began to occupy a seminal position on Inca military and trade routes.

The myths of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* were told many centuries before the Incas by the Yunca and Yauyo peoples. Whatever their internal bickering, they preserved their mutual traditions during four centuries of Wari dominance. They did so too under the shorter, but more absolutist, period of Inca dominance. Yuncas and Yauyos witnessed dynastic Inca wars, initiated by Pachacutec and his sibling rival Urco in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and culminating with the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar in 1532-4. Additional civil wars between the Conquistadors, between Pizarristas and Almagristas, between the acolytes of Gonzalo Pizarro and those of Vice Roy Pedro de la Gasca, appeared to be more of the same. What set Spanish imperialism so much apart from Inca imperialism was the lack of the system of “ayni” (reciprocal labor, in Quechua) and “mita” (obligatory service, in Aymara) that had sweetened the bitter Inca pill. Within the configurations of “ayni” and “mita” that bound all Andean communities, even the Inca overlord was subject to a network of alliances and complementary exchanges that bound him to provide services as much as to demand it. Colonial tribute subverted the traditional Andean system of mutual obligation; Vice-regents did not insure their subjects’ well-being. The *Huarochiri Manuscript* was compiled in that interval when Yuncas

and Yauyos were still bound in memory to Cuzco, although the new center of tribute, built by Pizarro on an older Ychma Indian settlement, was Lima.

At the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the epicenter of Mayan power had moved to Yucatan from the Guatemalan highlands, where it had taken over from the city-states that collapsed around 900 ACE. The extremely unpopular Xiuh family held the reins. Rumored to be of Aztec origin, they had not shown themselves to be loyal to the Maya cause. However, the Chontal Maya, of indubitable Aztec origin, had turned out to be the Mayas greatest defenders against encroaching Aztec forays. The Xiuh clan was in league with the Nahuatl-speaking merchants, the *pochteca* who diplomatically preceded the Aztec hordes: “The Totol Xiuh, governors of Mani<sup>9</sup> were descendants of a Nahuatl lineage which came to Yucatan by way of Tabasco. It is probable that the first Xiuh settled in Uxmal, around the time that the Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs/Toltecs arrived in Mayan speaking Yucatan, and they married and intermingled with the original Mayan inhabitants” (Bracamonte y Sosa. *Los mayas y la tierra* 36-7). Whatever the background of the reviled Totol Xiuh clan, their links with the expansionist Aztec confederation added to their notoriety. Unlike the aforementioned Chontal, whose Nahuatl origin was no secret, but whose loyalty to the Maya was unquestionable, the Totol Xiuh were a political wild card. Recent (2013-2014) excavations in Mayapan (1441), the last Yucatec Maya confederation, point to Maya defacement of Nahuatl-styled edifices which housed the merchants who had traded with the Maya since the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Nahuatl artistic motifs were a ready target for Maya political ire, as art historians have noted (Milbrath “Last Great Capital of the Maya” 62-5). Perhaps to ward off Mayan suspicions of them as “fifth column,” the Xiuh clan actually sponsored the destruction of Aztec art in Mayapan.

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<sup>9</sup> Bracamonte and Sosa cite the *Tratado de Mani* (1557). The presence of the Totol Xiuh, first collaborators with the Aztecs and then collaborators of the Conquistadors, is noteworthy here, since Bishop Diego de Landa found Mani to be a propitious site for his mass bonfire of the Mayan codices in 1562.



In a fluid political scenario, actors-politicians were intelligent opportunists. Archaeologist Jacques Soustelle<sup>10</sup> asserts that adherence to Maya culture is independent of ethnicity; the red-haired Maya of Honduras' Atlantic coast, descendants of Irish and English buccaneers, validate this claim today. So does the adulation afforded all over Yucatan to the Spanish renegade and Mayan culture hero, Gonzalo Guerrero, despite pro-Hispanic attempts to discredit his historical existence.

Despite their attempts to ingratiate themselves with the locals, the Totol Xiuh, cursed with strong financial ties to the Nahuatl-speaking *pochteca*, were believed to be traitors. Eventually the local Maya, including the Nahuatl-origin Chontal and Putun Maya, drove the Xiuh from power, though they did not expel them. As late as the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Mayan villages retained artifacts from the anti-Xiuh campaign, which re-doubled in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries due to the Xiuh's collusion with the Conquistadors. Writing in 1843, John Lloyd Stephens, in Chapter XIV of his *Travels to Yucatan* confirmed that the Maya shared with him written and painted testimony detailing how the Cocom family assassinated those members of the Xiuh family who proposed supporting the Conquistador Francisco de Montejo, in the latter's failed campaign to subdue Yucatan in the 1530s.<sup>11</sup>

A clarification is in order. There is a popular tendency at present (2014) among the Yucatec Maya to consider all pre-Hispanic cruelty and barbarism to be an importation from the Nahuatl-speaking, Aztec/Toltec "North." But the potentates of Classic period Mayan culture did not lack for autocratic cruelty, before Aztec/Spanish intromission. The incessant intra-Mayan

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<sup>10</sup> Soustelle 128: "Of every 14 known surnames of the Putun Maya, 11 are of Aztec-Nahuatl origin." In fact, the Putun/Chontal Maya, of Aztec-origin, led Mayan resistance to Conquistador armies. They were both the guardians, and the shock troops, of their adopted Maya culture.

<sup>11</sup> Bonor Villarejo 186-8. At first condescending towards the Maya, Stevens later praised their art and engineering.

warfare of that period devastated the Mayan landscape, as entire forests were felled to provide the wood to burn lime, needed for decorating military monuments.<sup>12</sup> Like Greek city-states, Mayan entities were rent by internal dissension. This political hemorrhage bled the small kingdoms of the Guatemalan highlands, leading to the exodus of most of their citizens towards Yucatan. In such a volatile situation, first Toltec interference from Teotihuacan and then Aztec incursions complicated the plight of the Mayan city-states. Tikal's dynasties were represented on 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century engravings surrounded by Toltec "advisors"; Maya princes later expelled the Nahua presence, which was swiftly replaced by Mayan princely infighting. The *Popul Vuh* testified to irredentist conflicts between the post-Classic Maya, exacerbated by the newer and (for the Maya) hated Aztec presence. The third segment of the text describes an Aztec-derived deity, Nacxit, relative of the plumed serpent god Quetzalcoatl, etched against the backdrop of the Mayan civil wars of the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

As the Conquistadors discovered, the Maya peoples were as difficult to dominate as to unify. Unlike the Aztecs, the Mayans never attributed supernatural qualities to the Europeans. They interpreted the Spaniards as one more warring faction, though exotically dressed with louder weapons, with fratricidal divisions resembling Mayab. Spanish renegades, beginning with Gonzalo Guerrero during Cortes' invasion and increasing for the next three centuries, swelled the ranks of Mayan warriors. As they had accepted Aztec deserters and "Mayanized"

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<sup>12</sup> Tikal and Calakmul were two great ceremonial centers that divided up the Mayan landscape through their ceaseless warfare, from the 4<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. The perimeters of a prince's power extended so far as his next ally.

<sup>13</sup> Certain Mayanists attribute Mayan origin to some Aztec gods, including Quetzalcoatl, in an attempt to diminish the Nahua cultural impact on the embattled Mayan city-states; and to emphasize the greater antiquity of Mayan civilization vis-à-vis the upstart Aztec society, only coalescing in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. Raynaud, Asturias and Mendoza, in their squib on the *Popul Vuh*, insist that Nacxit, divine Nahua personage of the text, is a "Mexican deformation" of the Mayan term for "precious gemstones" subsequently reappearing in the Aztec pantheon as Quetzalcoatl. Nacxit/Quetzalcoatl is classified as a derivation from the ancient phonetic Mayan symbol for "plumed serpent" (Raynaud, Asturias and Mendoza, 194 note 40).

them in the aggrupation of Putun/Chontal Maya in the centuries preceding Spain, Spanish champions of their cause were likewise welcomed. (Rolena Adorno, who questions the veracity of Guerrero's biography, reiterates his semiotic value as a pro-Maya Hispanic insurgent).<sup>14</sup> Thanks to the composite memory and legend of Gonzalo Guerrero and his ilk, the Mayan concept of mestizaje and fusion diverges from the Nahua. In the Nahua version, the docile Malinche adopts the Conquistador's language and religion; Guerrero's narrative presented a man adopting his wife's beliefs and life-style, and then defending her and his half-Mayan children to the death against European invasion. Real or imagined, but followed by a plethora of "deserter" examples in Yucatan, Campeche and Guatemala, Guerrero's story vindicated Mayan resistance and fractured the till-then unitary Spanish narrative in Central America.<sup>15</sup>

The fruitful contacts maintained by the Campeche Maya in the *Lago de Terminos* with pirates of the Atlantic coast<sup>16</sup> during nearly 400 years cracked apart the colonial paradigm of whites as conquerors. Whites could be allies (Dampier, Guerrero) or they could be enemies; but the Maya applied the same caveat to themselves. The Yuncas and Yauyos of Huarochiri watched a similar Guerrero-like phenomenon, categorized in colonial times as Spaniards who went "tierra adentro" (inland): whites male and female, who fled Spanish areas and went to live

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<sup>14</sup> Adorno says of the real or imagined Guerrero phenomenon: "It was not a curiosity or an eccentric case but exactly the type of cultural boundary crossing that concerned the royal and ecclesiastical guardians of the faith and customs of the kingdoms of Spain in the Americas" (*The Polemics of Possession* 222). Modern Mexican artists of all backgrounds see in Guerrero's figure a validation of their independence narrative and of the multi-ethnic nature of Mayan society, (re: the heroic, and romanticized, statue of Guerrero, cited by Adorno on page 223 of *Polemics*, in Quintana Roo, by the Zacatec sculptor Raul Ayal Arrellano).

<sup>15</sup> White renegades were also a familiar site in the Andes. The abortive pro-Indian revolution led by the mestizo "false Inca" Pedro Bohorquez at the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century proclaimed fidelity to the suppressed Inca royal caste, although its agenda edged closer to the suffering Indian lower classes whom Bohorquez knew personally. Inca royalty was sported as a banner of legitimacy and nativism by many colonial-era mestizos.

<sup>16</sup> The English pirate and gentleman botanist William Dampier was a long-time ally of the Maya, and is warmly recalled by the former in the memoirs of Dampier's pirate raids. The Maya, suffocated as were the mestizos by Spain's colonial trade strictures, traded frequently with English pirates who docked in Campeche, pirates who were "seldom persecuted" (See: Introduction by Villalpando Cesar, XVIII, in Anna Garcia Bergua's edition of Dampier's memoirs, 2004).

by choice with Native communities. In the Andes such crossing over proliferated, as those of the “tierra adentro” phenomenon were not usually captives, as had been Guerrero’s case. Chapter Two of this thesis analyzes the ambivalence of the individual vis-à-vis the group, with behavior reflecting personal decision more than regional/tribal loyalty.

#### IV. *Aztec Defeatism vs. Mayan And Andean Belligerence*

The Aztecs saw their own bodies as offerings to the gods, which made Cortes’ entry in Tenochtitlan easier; they offered themselves easily, after a brief two-year resistance, to their new conquerors. Sacrificial obsidian blocks became the sites of the Inquisition’s burnings and strangling, for the Aztecs were well-accustomed to submitting to the dictates of murderous gods. For this reason, Tlatelolco was the site where the Inquisition first burnt human subjects alive in Mexico, (1528), long before the actual establishment of the Inquisition in Mexico. Tlatelolco had boasted the finest temples of the Triple Alliance, the confederation in which the Aztec monarchs reigned supreme. Gutting one’s victim or roasting them alive, Aztecs and Europeans were hell-bent on consuming human flesh. Jaime Lara has explained the Aztec perspective designating the human body as the gods’ preferred delicacy (*Christian Texts for Aztecs* 83), and I would add that the Inquisition’s theatres of fire “ate” heretical bodies for public consumption. Labels changed, but the spectacle of torture and public death remained the same, with the hierarchy of killers and victim reinforcing the existing power structure.

In *Christian Texts for Aztecs* Lara substantiates the Aztec/European comparison, juxtaposing Aztec birth-purification rites that consisted in passing the new-born over purifying flames, and the baptismal rite, where the new-born is similarly purified from the sin of sexual

conception by fire's pair and antithesis, water<sup>17</sup>. Interestingly, one of the Aztec goddesses of sexuality, Tzalteotl, was also the goddess of filth, yet another Aztec-European similarity not at all present in Mayan or Andean traditions.

Whoever was not baptized by water nor toasted by flames was, in Aztec and Spanish imperial terms, a legitimate target for military and religious aggression, whether Aztec "flowered wars" or "holy" crusades. Aztecs and Europeans evoked higher powers to justify wars and statecraft, but in Mayab and the non-Incan Andes, political power had been effectively secularized. Cosmic terror no longer played a role in politics, and aggressions were, as Mayan glyphs recount from Yucatan to Honduras, the result of mundane and petty princely feuding; Mayan subjects often defaced the noses of their disgraced rulers with no fear of divine retribution, and the knots of Inca quipus, viewed as sacrosanct messages throughout the Andes, were often simply untied in Huarochiri. Colonial ambition be it Aztec, Inca or Spanish, derived little comfort from peoples whose heritage bragged of fighting, sometimes killing, or flat-out ignoring their own gods.

This skeptical and insubordinate mindset determines the tone of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh*, adding an element conspicuous by its absence in most world religions: sarcasm. In one segment of the *HM* that we will discuss more fully in Chapter Two, the god Conirraya, venerated as first Creator by the Tiawanaku culture, puts a curse on the humble (but spunky) animals-foxes, skunks and parrots-who deride his amorous pretensions. Mighty as the Creator may be, He is incapable of reversing the prophecy of the smaller animals, who have warned him that he will not be reunited with his lady-love Cadillac, as indeed he will not be.

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<sup>17</sup> "Conversely, seen from below, from the point of view of the Mexica, [Aztecs], the Catholic sacrament of baptism would have appeared as a less dramatic imitation of long-established indigenous traditions" (Jaime Lara, 83).

Losing to little animals is a trait shared by non-Incan Andean deities and their Mayan underworld counterparts, as illustrated in the second segment of the *Popul Vuh*. The Mayan god-folk send owls to spread their tidings of death and sacrifice, and these owls come as messengers to our middle world between the sky and Xibalba: Uleew, the land between. But the gods are stupid, and have no inkling of the pact uniting the rebel Ixq'iq, daughter of Xibalba's blood-deity, and the same owls, who save her from the sacrifice her father has ordained for her. Infernal wills are thwarted by those occupying a lower rung in the Mesoamerican social hierarchy: birds and women. Owls were known to shelter other cosmic rebels in Central Asian shamanistic tradition, such as that of Lake Bakalu, and Maya custom retains this association. Whereas the macaw identifies with the Sun Deity, the night-flying owl has a very suspect allegiance to the gods. Whether Andean (Conirraya) or Mayan (Xibalba), the *HM* and the *PV* reveal the gods to be inept, allowing the weaker aspects of Creation to outwit them.

The Mexican valley exemplified Hispanic-based syncretism, with Nahua divinities absorbed within Catholic saints. Mayab and the Andes, including the areas of former Inca control, did not conform to the Nahua model.<sup>18</sup> Cultural syncretism in these two regions ran the gamut from Hispani-centric to militantly Nativist, with every variation in between. This thesis explores this multi-pronged religiosity, and its secular correlate, politics, as they are portrayed in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*.

Religion was the terrain where the inconclusive nature of the Spanish Conquest manifested itself most vigorously in the Andes and Mayab. A case in point is the *Virgen Linda*, as she was popularly known in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Peru, the Beautiful Virgin who was resolutely white and European. She was adopted enthusiastically by indigenous and mestizo

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<sup>18</sup> David Stuart states in *The Order of Days* (5): "The years of protracted fighting and Conquest in Yucatan took far longer than in central Mexico, and many Maya simply fled into frontier zones to the South, towards the Itza region, where isolation and harsh terrain kept the Spanish largely at bay."

painters of the Cuzco school, who darkened her complexion and gave her the contours of the Andean earth mother, the Pacha Mama. In Mexico, the Aztec earth mother Tonantzin had been subsumed by the Virgin of Guadalupe, but in Peru, the Virgin Mary was revered as an aspect of the Pacha Mama. Christianity thus became an integral component of a much older Andean spirituality, while in the Mexican Valley; Aztec gods were interred within the world the Conquistadors brought. Acting within colonial parameters, Andeans were agents and participants of their much modified destiny. In the Mexican Valley, Nahua life had been subsumed by European norms.

The Christian cross even began to speak in the Maya tongue in Yucatan, as evidenced by the Talking Crosses (*cruces parlantes*) used by Mayan insurrectionaries during the Caste Wars of 1847. There, the cross became disentangled from the Conquerors; rebellion and not abnegation characterized the Yucatec crucifix. Unexpectedly for the white creole plantation owners, Jesus supported the Mayan farmers. His message was not the nobility of suffering, but the punishment of the colonial landholders. Although Gordon Brotherston affirms in *Indigenous America* that the Caste Wars were a direct continuation of Jacinto Can Ek's 1761 mestizo-led rebellion, (26) the peasant indigenous leadership of the Caste Wars contrasted sharply with the more elitist pretensions of Can Ek. Jacinto Can Ek was of a relatively privileged class, being partially descended from the last Maya shamans of Tayasal. In Mayan tradition the shaman and the ruler were not always synonymous, and Can Ek appeared to unite them. The Caste Wars boasted no such illustrious antecedents; it was a protest of the landless, in which village leaders and shamans followed the enraged Mayan peasantry. During that uprising, Mayan historical perspective molded Christianity in keeping with their own political aspirations, instead of employing it as a sign of obedience to their new gods and

Conquistadors, as the Aztecs did. Contemporary Tzutuhil Mayan syncretism in Guatemala lionizes the image of Saint Maximon, a Mayan and Christian hybrid who, during parades on Catholic feast days, symbolically sodomizes the image of the prone Christ, literally “impregnating” Christianity with Mayan spirituality. As writer Francisco Goldman observed, this act, unthinkable in orthodox Christian terms, interposes Jesus in Mayan fertility and harvest rites.<sup>19</sup>

#### V. *Resurgence of Older Local Pantheons*

Pre-Incan and pre-Aztec regional gods gained new life in the wake of the Aztec and Inca imperial collapse. Some of these gods, including the Creator deities of Lake Titicaca and the Andean Pacific Coast, fused together as Conirraya Viracocha; or the hunter patron Hunahpu and his jaguar “shadow twin,” Ixbalaamque of the Guatemalan highlands. They reappeared in the *PV* and the *HM*. Ironically, the Conquest revived an earlier indigenous reality. Used to living in the shade of larger empires, Mayas, Yuncas and Yauyos reinvented and immortalized their own gods in the matrix of the European-style text.

The Mayan rain-god Chac, the most ancient of the Yucatec/Guatemalan pantheon, survived quite well in the post-Conquest period, as opposed to the plumed serpent god: Quetzalcoatl/Kukulcan. Thanks to Kukulcan’s obvious Toltec/Aztec origins, the feathered serpent’s cult was never dominant among the Maya. Tutelary deity of the Nahuas, Kukulcan was even less appealing once the Nahuas (Toltecs/Aztecs) were defeated. The curlicue-form of Chac’s nose and his goggle-eyes, meanwhile, continued to adorn later Mayan architecture.

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<sup>19</sup> In *La Diosa de las Americas*, Goldman describes this sodomizing and its accompanying paraphernalia in vivid prose (99-114). The actual “intercourse,” described on page 101, would be unthinkable in any Hispanic-dominated religious celebration, such as those of nearby Mexico’s Virgin of Guadalupe, or Tlaxcala’s Virgin of Ocotlan.



Following the brutal Conquest era of the 1520s, 30s and 40s, the oldest Mayan gods were revived, precisely those that had been supplanted by Toltec invaders from the Mexican valley in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The brief appearance made by Quetzalcoatl in the *Popul Vuh* is in his avatar as patron spirit of the Yaqui people, a people on Mexico's north Pacific coast never colonized by the Aztec. (Aztec associations are erased in the *PV*. As Brotherston notes, Quetzalcoatl was first venerated by the Aztecs' Toltec predecessors (106) and Aztecs and Toltecs are very much viewed in Mayan culture, to this day, as the bringers of human sacrifice<sup>20</sup>). Quetzalcoatl's marginality finds its louder Andean echo in *Huarochiri*, where the supreme Incan deity, the Sun, "Inti," is utterly non-existent. This is, to borrow Nathan Wachtel's term, the "vision of the vanquished," but it is a sarcastic vision, not a tragic one: the proclamation of the absolute irrelevance of the invader's deities. Native invaders were disliked as intensely as foreign ones, and foreign "renegades" who collaborated with Mayans and Andeans were easily "adopted" as were White captives in North American Indian tradition.

The Mayan Chac became ever more popular in 16<sup>th</sup> century Mayab, while the most fundamentalist priests, such as Diego de Landa, ignored the domestic rituals sanctifying Chac in every Mayan home. Landa and his entire Franciscan order had been granted Inquisitorial powers throughout Yucatan in the 1560s, but limiting Chac's domestic worship raised the specter of Mayan civil unrest on a scale feared even by the Holy Office. With Peru and its longstanding Native rebellions, beginning with Manco Inca, setting the standard for colonial instability, the Crown needed to avoid similar phenomenon in Central America.

Perhaps for this reason, Landa was eventually removed from his position, but his documents remain, and they all bear witness, angrily, to Chac's ongoing appeal. While

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<sup>20</sup> The negative perception of Toltec values by the contemporary Maya and Maya-based mestizo cultures stands in opposition to the glorification of the Toltecs rife throughout Mexico. Diego Rivera's murals in Mexico City's Presidential Palace laud the Toltecs as the founders of civilization, and do not reference Mayan society visually.

lambasting the Mac (April) rain ceremonies, Landa remarks on the conflation of the four-fold rain god, “the four Chacs” with the “gods of bread [maize]”; confusing bread with corn as the Mayan staff of life. Landa describes the wood and sacrificed animals left as forest offerings to the four Chacs, observing that “when all hearts were burnt, the Maya doused the fire with the water-pitchers of the four Chacs” (*Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan* 78-9). Landa would not have been pleased by the quadruple manifestations of Chac, or by the Mayan attribution of corn as the symbol of rebirth. Ignorant of their meanings, he mentions neither. But two generations after the first Conquistadors razed the Yucatan peninsula, the Chac ceremonies, and their associations with reincarnation and rebirth, were alive and well. Catholic priests subscribing to Modern day Liberation theology sees similarities between the Trinity and Chac’s quadripartite nature, but Landa’s creed had little to do with Jesus and much more with Caesar.

The rainforests and rough plateaus of Yucatan and Guatemala enabled Mayan beliefs to survive and sound a dissonant note; meanwhile, the distances of the varied Andean landscape and their impassable mountains and jungles aided the survival, and the renaissance, of pre-Incan gods. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, successive councils in Lima debated the success and failures of evangelization strategies imported from Mexico City, while Andeans, Inca and non-Inca, reacted very differently to imperial theological aggression than defeated Aztecs.

In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the eleventh Inca sovereign Huayna Capac ordered the incineration of the huaca of Catequil in Huamachuco, a local non-Inca deity revered by the peoples of Northern Peru. This was due to Catequil’s oracular, (correct) prophecy of the defeat of Huayna Capac’s father, Tupac Yupanqui, in battle with the local peoples of the Quito region. In *Religion in the Andes*, Sabine MacCormack reminds us (62) that Catequil’s burnt

and shattered statue was rescued by his followers, defying the dictates of the Inca conqueror. Other Andean peoples did not, and do not, cherish the rosy view propagated by Garcilaso el Inca regarding the Incas' "good government." Tupac Yupanqui, delineated in *Huarochiri* as a tantrum-prone royal brat, had terrorized the Chimor peoples in the north and the Collas in the south, reaching as far west as Easter Island<sup>21</sup>, and there was no love lost between Incas and former subjects after the Conquest.

The most outstanding deity of the non-Incan Andean pantheon was Con, whose sphere was identical with Chac's: water. Con was the primeval ocean god, revered as a whale by the Nazca culture of Ica in southern Peru (100-900 ACE). Con was patron of the coastal peoples for over 3,000 years, always invoked by the farmers who wrested a subsistence living Ica's arid soils. The Nazca sought for Con in their underground canals, the *puquios* still in use today. Con's aquatic nature resurface again in the legends of *Huarochiri*, as the tasks of Conirraya Viracocha, irrigator in agricultural and sexual terms, indicate a link to the older Nazca Con on Peru's southern maritime coast. The Nazca had a far-flung trade network that commenced with the oldest city in the Americas, (Caral), and trade brought ideas as well as exchange of goods<sup>22</sup>. The *Huarochiri Manuscript's* emphasis on the Nazca Con, in conjunction with the complete silence regarding the Incas' emblematic solar god Inti, denotes an inferior or even non-existent rank for their indigenous conquerors. Water extinguishes fire, and in *Huarochiri*, water drowns any mention of solar flames.

Conirraya's omnipresence and Inti's absence in the *HM* are tangible proof of how ephemeral the impact of Inca religion had been on many Andean peoples, despite the heavy

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<sup>21</sup> Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa recounts Tupac's Pacific forays in Chaps. XLIV-LIV, 118-138 of his chronicles.

<sup>22</sup> Huaca Pucllana (200-700 ACE) in Lima's Miraflores district, substantiates Con's presence in the artistic motifs of the Chancay, Rimac, and Lurin (Huarochiri) peoples, all three predating the Incas' 12<sup>th</sup> century beginnings. The Lima area, site of the Ychma culture, traded with Nazca in the South and with the highlands in the interior.

machinery of empire. Solar Aztec deities are similar non-entities in the *Popul Vuh*, a structural feature that points to the resurgence of aquatic deities in Mayan and Andean post-Conquest cosmologies.

Archaeologist Michael Moseley observes that, even at its absolute height, the Inca empire was always a mosaic of distinct civilizations, which were “spatially segregated” (Moseley 276). After the Conquest, the geographical segregation became more pronounced. Andean social disarticulation was aggravated by Spanish implementation of the Inca institution of “mitmacuna”. These were non-Incan peoples, subjugated by Cuzco’s armies, removed from their ancestral lands to avoid anti-Inca agitation. These same transferred populations would form the backbone of anti-colonial resistance, more due to their regional loyalties than to any loyalty towards the equally detested Inca. Already alienated from, and discriminated by, the Inca Empire, they were less moved and perhaps less traumatized by its destruction. Perhaps because of this, they were not paralyzed by Spanish imperial armies. They had seen this before.

Manco Inca took refuge in Villcapampa and organized a sustained military opposition to Pizarro’s regime precisely because the local population of Villcapampa was composed of these transplanted “mitmacuna”, the majority being “Antis,” inhabitants of the Amazon border regions. For the Antis, the collapse of Inca power was not a disaster; they had in fact maintained a certain degree of autonomy during Cuzco’s reign. Unbowed by the Inca when he ruled, they helped one of the last sovereigns, Manco Inca, to fight the Pizarro brothers after Inca rule was disestablished. Pat MacQuarrie, in *The Last Days of the Inca Empire*, (275-6) confirmed the effectiveness of these non-Inca shock troops in post-Inca indigenous warfare.

Non-Incan Andean reaction to Cuzco’s decline paralleled Mayan attitudes towards Tenochtitlan’s demise in 1521. Until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Mayan city-states, despite their

internal bickering, remained on the edge of the encroaching Aztec armies; but as the Aztec capital and its agents, the merchant-warriors (*pochteca*) inched closer to Mayab, bickering was jettisoned in favor of rooting out all fifth columns of collaboration with Tenochtitlan, (such as the aforementioned clan Xiuh). The Mayas were not disheartened by the surrender of Tenochtitlan, and their robust resistance to Conquistador incursions, against Alvarado's troops in 1524 and the Montejos, father and son, in 1542, demonstrated that they were made of sterner stuff than the feared, and surprisingly fragile, Aztecs.

The Spanish Crown began to entangle itself in Central American forests, seeking the Mayan families who disappeared in the green.<sup>23</sup> Concurrently with Mayan disappearances, the Andeans of Huarochiri abandoned, sometimes en masse, their newly assigned colonial pueblos. They regrouped in improvised settlements that ridiculed the Crown's attempts to bring Peru, itself a byword for colonial chaos, under control.<sup>24</sup> The clergy undertook the destruction of Andean huacas, sacred places or objects or, as Garcilaso el Inca defines them in his 1609 tome *Comentarios Reales*, Book II, Chapter II, p. 69: "extraordinary" natural phenomena. Andean huacas would simply morph into other forms however, for the whole landscape was impregnated with sacredness. Viceroy Toledo, in 1572, attempted a definitive extirpation of Andean "idolatry" but the pre-Incan religions were still vigorous enough to warrant visits and torments from the Holy Inquisition nearly a century later in the 1660s. In his *Instruccion para descubrir todas las guacas del Peru*, Cristobal de Albornoz (b.1580) lamented that the non-

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<sup>23</sup> Garcia Bergua 256: The Mayas' English pirate friend, William Dampier wrote in Chapter V, folio 116 of his *Two Voyages to Campeche* in 1705: "Black slaves dominate them [the Mayas] and the Spaniards allow them to do so. This turns them pensive and melancholy, if they even manage to subsist in a tolerable manner. But sometimes, when they are taxed beyond capacity, *entire villages, men, women and children, leave together...*" (Garcia Bergua 256) (Italics mine).

<sup>24</sup> Karen Spalding notes on page 226 of *Huarochiri: A Colonial Province Under Inca and Spanish Rule*, that... "Urutambo, one of the original reductions, was occupied by only about 20 people in 1750, and other places were ghost towns. Santa Eulalia, another of the original 17 foundations, was empty by 1705."

Incan mitimaes, (forced laborers) taken by Inca sovereigns from their homelands, brought with them portable huacas that could be easily concealed. Albornoz noted that these small stone figurines were given to them by their local priests, who conjoined them never to forget their original names and lines of descent, and to.... “celebrate and worship their original birthplaces, and so they did, always bringing out during their dances and reverences that piece of cloth that enfolded their huaca....” (Urbano and Duviols 171). As local huacas survived the Incas, so too with the Colony.

Garcilaso states in Book II, Chapter III of the *Comentarios* that the term *huaca* encompasses the majestic Andes and the repugnant Anacondas. The marvelous was dualistic, and so, from the Church’s point of view, all Andean geography enshrined potential heresy. As the Andeans sanctified the entire earth, the Mayans sanctified the entire sky: and the planet Venus, or *Noh Ek* (“great star” re: *Los Mayas* 202) in its dawn or twilight appearance was alternately herald of peace and prosperity or war and disgrace. Like the Mayan *Noh Ek*, Andean huacas incorporated clashing definitions and appearances, and all were holy. Colonial Counter-Reformation doctrine was impotent in the face of this all-embracing sacredness. It was impossible to destroy the entire earth, or blacken the entire sky. When Aztec temples were torched, the old faith went up in flames. In contrast, as long as the earth and the stars existed, Mayan and Andean religion would remain intact.

Their rebelliousness and anger remained intact too. When Aztec temples were wrecked, their worshippers took it as divine punishment. For Mayans and Andeans, holiness was not confined to temples. On their temples’ ruins, they reconstructed, and re-write, their stories.

## CHAPTER 1: The Sources of Political Ambivalence in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri* Manuscript

### 1.1 *Laughter on the Knife's Edge: Mayan and Andean Perspectives of Tragedy*

The *PV* and the *HM* evidence ambivalence regarding the idea of divinity, as far as their heroes are concerned. The texts mock supernatural omnipotence, whether the older (indigenous) or the newer (Hispanic). The influence of the post-Conquest period is felt in both, leading to inevitable questioning of the old Aztec and Inca models of political-religious authority, as well as rejection of the oppressive, and newer, Spanish variant. Gradually it became clear that European military prowess could crush larger empires but not the smaller loci of decentralized Mayan and Andean rebellions.

One can mock the gods and be divine at the same time, because everything is a manifestation of sacredness; therefore no one specific “god” has a right to command. The multiple avatars of Mayan and Andean gods and humans, two pairs of Hero Twins in the *Popul Vuh* and a fivefold-god, Paria Caca, in *Huarochiri* and his five-armed sister Chaupi Namca, have more in common philosophically with Hinduism’s multiple divine manifestations than they do with Abrahamic monotheism. Since Mayan and Andean gods had benevolent and malevolent countenances at the same time, the Conquest and Church imposed paradigm of Good and Evil could be delegitimized. Instead of changing old gods for new a la the Aztec model, the *PV* and the *HM* insinuate that if one wishes to survive, it is wiser to recognize the evil that all the gods possess.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Juan Estenssoro and Rene Acuna are among the theorists who see Mayan and Andean colonial writing as primarily the result of Christianization and Christian archetypes adapted to Indian needs. This indicates almost total ignorance of the last 120 years of Central American and Andean archaeology, which demonstrated beyond doubt, through art and Indian iconography, the indigenous nature of the characters mentioned in the texts. See: Julio Tello’s 1904 article “Pachacamac”; and Michael J. Grofe’s essay “The Recipe for Rebirth: Cacao as Fish in the Mythology and Symbolism of the Ancient Maya” for an understanding of the link between literature and archaeology.

While Judeo-Islamic-Christian monotheism posits an omnipotent God, it has difficulty accepting that this omnipotent God allows evil and the death of innocents, declaring His ways to be inscrutable. The Aztecs shared this same fatalism regarding their gods, so it cannot be monotheism in and of itself that produces confused resignation. It is not monotheism or polytheism in question here, but to which entity one ascribes the guilt for evil in the world. In Mayan and Andean texts, the guilt lies on the doorstep of the gods themselves.

In Chapter 8 of *Huarochiri*, Paria Caca counsels a soon-to-be bereaved father not to offer his son as a sacrifice to the fire-god Huallallo, and invites the human subject to engage in the subversive act. Once Huallallo's conflagrations are put out, all humans will be freed from the murderous ritual.<sup>26</sup> In Chapter 23 of the *Popul Vuh*, the Hero Twins, (disguised as sorcerers/sacrificers in order to regale the Lords of Xibalba), captivate their infernal public literally and figuratively by showing the Xibalbans to be bullies and fools. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque leap about dressed as animals, which, in Mayan shamanic tradition, mean they are absorbing the animals' strength and intuition.<sup>27</sup> Ridicule more than rage disarms the divine nemesis, and black farce neutralizes all-powerful gods, so, before they sharpen their knives, the heroes and heroines of the *PV* and the *HM* tell jokes. Unlike Aztecs, Incas or monotheists, Mayan and Andean heroes have no illusions regarding the moral rectitude of the universe. They do have faith in their own morality though. Recognizing the gods' immorality, they prepare for battle, with laughter and scorn.

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<sup>26</sup> Frank Salomon remarks in his edition of *Huarochiri* (note 190, p. 67) that Huallallo...“ate every one of two babies born. The weeping man was going to make his sacrifice.” Happily, Paria Caca intercepts the man prior to the act, and ends infanticide.

<sup>27</sup> All versions of the *Popul Vuh* concur in the five animals chosen by the Twins: the owl, the opossum, the armadillo, the caterpillar and the long-legged mosquito. Facing death in the face, they summon animal survival skills, more efficacious in dealing with murderers than prayer, because the prey knows the predator well.



For many translators imbued with images of the “mystic” Native American, the laughter of the texts escaped them altogether. Native American scholars, in contrast, tout laughter and sarcasm as the most dreaded weapons in the Native arsenal.<sup>28</sup> The *PV* and the *HM* produce a playful and at times deadly questioning of the Divine order, and there is no Aztec/monotheistic notion that all this pain and suffering must somehow serve a higher purpose. Mayans and Andeans prefer to contemplate the arbitrariness of the universe, and the gods who created it, without fear. Black humor and intelligence enables one to triumph over the arbitrariness, so chaos is not an impediment, just a facet of the universe.

Non-conformist attitudes produce rambunctious behaviors. *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* are the intellectual end-product of this. The written page, standard of Western culture, unexpectedly permitted indigenous peoples to immortalize their own beliefs, and *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* do so, as an evolving system and not an artifact. But due to their unapologetic tone, the *PV* and the *HM* are in no way comparable to the information passed on to Sahagun by Christianized Aztecs of the colonial period. Those remembered a defunct past, fervently renounced by the informants themselves. In an entirely different vein, the *PV* and the *HM* transmit the pre-Conquest past as a tool for alleviating, and overcoming, the post-Conquest present of its authors. Through their stories, Mayans and Andeans retain their original beliefs not as an inferior prefiguration of Spanish Christianity, but as a parallel universe existing alongside the Conquistadors’ world.

Challenging the ease of Spanish/Aztec syncretism, the *PV* and the *HM* facilitate styles of adaptation where the dominant factor is indigenous, not European. Colonial power was

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<sup>28</sup> Luis Tapahonso, in “The First Laugh Ceremony” in *Native America* (Gerald McMaster and Clifford Trafzer. Eds., 264-6) stress the element of laughter as a shared survival tactic by all Native peoples of the Americas. In my opinion, Nahua culture in general and the Aztec variant in particular, provide an exception to this rule. The extreme solemnity associated with Inca civilization also diverges from the humorous model.

frustrated by this possibility, and even more frustrated by their inability to crush Andean and Mayan resistance and subjugate them in a general sense. Adding insult to injury, the defeated Incas appeared to be infected by their former Andean subjects; they comportment became factious and subversive, as we saw at Villcapampa. Inga Clenninden emphasizes that the Crown was anxious to repeat the quick resolution attained by Cortes in Mexico (*Ambivalent Conquests* 26), but that was not destined to occur in other regions of the Americas.

With the exception of Guatemoc's short-lived opposition to Cortes, (1520-1) the Aztec showed complete abnegation towards his conqueror. Earlier, the Aztec subject submitted unquestioningly to their sacerdotal class; the colonial priesthood swiftly received identical honors. Fray Motolinia's writings exemplify this uninterrupted conformity: Chapter XV of his *History of the Indians of New Spain* praises Aztec participation in post-Conquest miracle plays and religious theatre, as per the metaphor of Cortes "liberating" Tenochtitlan as though it were Jerusalem "liberated" by the Crusaders. Former Aztec warriors flocked to the Corpus Christi festivals in Tlaxcala in 1538, and their enthusiasm engendered Fray Motolinia's praise: "In Mexico and wherever there are monasteries, they carry all the decorations and inventions which they know how to create, as well as what they have learned from the Spaniards, and each one puts forth a great effort and beauty in outdoing whatever they see done, and by merely looking at the craftsmen... they themselves become masters...." (Bellini 124).

Even the most outstanding apologist for the colonial enterprise and Court chronicler, Juan Gines de Sepulveda, was enchanted by the docile image of the post-Conquest Aztec. In segment 40 of "*Infructuosas negociaciones de paz*" in his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, he recounted that "the Aztecs were so moved by Cortes' speech, that, sobbing, they understood the terrible danger in which they stood" (Ramirez de Verger Ed. 221). While missionaries and

chroniclers lauded the participation of the post-Conquest Aztecs in the colonial project during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Peru and Central America were disliked euphemisms for insubordination, insurrection, and the failure of Spain's governing abilities in the Americas.

Nahua colonial theatre inserted elements of Aztec belief within firmly Catholic and imperial contours<sup>29</sup>; Mayan and Andean post-Conquest theatre pieces, including those of Inca origin, excoriated the massacres committed by the Conquistadors and perpetuated their memory, inflaming the bitterness of the vanquished civilizations. Historical testimony was encapsulated in the collective memory of the spectators, where it continued to infuriate and incite. So strong were these performances that clerical prohibitions proliferated during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in particular against Mayan dance-dramas and Andean music. Marti de Cid and Cid Perez record the 1540 ordinance which prohibited for five years the entry of any Spaniard in Kekchi Maya areas of Guatemala, due to the great popularity of Mayan dance dramas with... those same Spaniards(!) (*Teatro IndoAmericano* 131). Following the Council of Trent, from 1566 onwards, Andean music sung in Quechua was rigorously controlled and sometimes banned, yet its melodies insistently, and exquisitely, made their way into Catholic prayers. Prohibitions and controls were relatively lax in the Mexican valley<sup>30</sup>, unsurprisingly, where insubordination was not even hinted at theatrically or otherwise.

Neither Mayan nor Andean leaders, including the Incas at the height of Cuzco's glory, managed to suppress their populations with Aztec or European style celerity. Fissures of

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<sup>29</sup> Cristobal Gutiérrez de Luna's 1619 theatre piece, *Coloquio de los reyes de Tlaxcala*, reveals how deeply Hispanic ideals had become embedded in the indigenous Nahua (Aztec and Tlaxcala) sphere, with Nahua history prefiguring the Spanish colonial enterprise and its accompanying evangelization.

<sup>30</sup> Aztec post-Conquest dramas such as *La adoracion de los tres reyes* (1587) incorporated facets of Aztec art that blended well with Christian iconography, presenting the Christ-child in terms taken from the Aztec blessings for the newborn, lauding Jesus as a precious turquoise, a beautiful plume....descriptions of the Aztec male child. (*Teatro IndoAmericano* 61-82). Aztec metaphors were reserved for physical descriptions; theologically, they were taboo.

cynicism and discontent broke out continuously among these populations, towards the gods and more often than not, towards their own despotic leaders. The birthing ground of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* was in these fissures, and their texts radiated suspicion towards all forms of authority: indigenous, European, human, and divine.

### 1.2 *Aztec/European Consonance vs. Mayan/Andean Dissonance*

Much ink has been spilled describing the Renaissance-era European tendency to search for correspondences between the “known” European world and the “unknown” American continents. Embarrassed by Biblical silence regarding a huge part of the Earth and its inhabitants, Europeans invented outlandish origins for Native Americans, whether the lost tribes of Israel or waylaid Tartar princes. For their part, Native Americans had the same need to contextualize this unknown conqueror in terms familiar to them. The sudden appearance of European conquerors had shaken American cosmologies to their foundations, producing dissonance in all realms, from the spiritual to that of commerce and trade. Due to the disequilibrium produced by European firepower, the imperial war machine, and disease, indigenous peoples suffered a more severe metamorphosis of their world. In the new equation of forces, the European occupied the position of priest-sorcerer, thanks to his magic of “iron armor, guns and horses.”<sup>31</sup>

Neither the *Popul Vuh* nor *Huarochiri* retroactively weave prophecies justifying the Conquistadors’ presence. Neither falsifies any post-factum continuity between the American

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<sup>31</sup>Jared Diamond in Chapter Three of *Guns, Germs and Steel*, (75) summarizes the shock factor of firepower and steel before the stone and copper arms, quite deadly in their own right, of the Inca armies in Cajamarca. While those arms sowed panic throughout the pre-Hispanic Andes, they were no match for Pizarro’s troops when Atahualpa was taken hostage. As Diamond points out, European arms of the time were clumsy, but the terror arising from their sound, due to Chinese-invented gun powder, was incalculable.

religions and Christianity.<sup>32</sup> Conquistadors are seen as a political, not celestially, ordained event. Karen Spalding remarks that... “The Spanish entry into Huarochiri was remembered by the people not so much for the Europeans’ military exploits but for their greed” (*Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* 121). No fictitious lineage, like that which linked Cortes to the “white god” Quetzalcoatl, was invented by Mayans or Andeans for Pizarro or Alvarado, and no European clergy dared invent it for them. Consequently, due to the lack of collaboration among Mayans and Andeans with the colonial project, the Spanish church shied away from disseminating Cortes-White God paradigms.<sup>33</sup> These conquered peoples would not accept it. In the *PV* and the *HM* one can sense this persistent “otherness,” with neither narrative making any attempt to accommodate the colonial mindset.

Paradoxically, Aztec human sacrifice and their wars waged for their solar deity Huitzilopochtli fused in a literal sense with the Eucharist and its (frankly symbolic) admonitions to eat God’s body and drink God’s blood (Jaime Lara, 141).<sup>34</sup> Aztec military expansionism under Huitzilopochtli’s banner gave way to adoration of other children of the sun, this time with crosses, which had beaten their deity in battle. Small wonder then that the Aztec honorific *Tonatiuh*, indicating an aspect of the sun god, was given by the Aztecs to the most brutal of Cortes’ lieutenants, Pedro de Alvarado. Alvarado was reviled by the Maya, and

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<sup>32</sup> When Mayans applied Conquest theology, it denied the Conquerors immortality. In Quezaltenango, “they went to the volcano and spoke to their spirits, because their belief states that their own heroes live forever, while they concede no such prerogative to Alvarado and the Conquistadors” (Marti de Cid et.al. *Teatro Indoamericano* 132).

<sup>33</sup> Juan Estenssoro has written widely on the effort to create Christian roots for Native rites in Peru, following the Third Council of Trent, while reducing artistic motifs in churches that smacked of Andean polytheism, such as the physical representation of the Trinity. As per Mexico, “The ever creative Pedro de Gante included a paraphrase...that was specifically geared to...the linguistic style of his Nahua penitents.” Jaime Lara notes (106) that Gante exchanged the word ‘confess’ for ‘to put right the heart,’ an expression frequently heard in Aztec penitential ceremonies.

<sup>34</sup> In reference to the *Egerton Manuscript 2898*, Lara states how the representation of Cross/sacrifice... “demonstrates that the word for the Aztec altar of human sacrifice, *momoxtli*, has been recycled both for the cross with podium and for the Christian Eucharistic table” (141).

by many Spanish chroniclers of the time, for the savagery of his tactics, such as the slow-burning torture of the Cakchiquel chieftains. For the Maya Alvarado was a vulgar assassin, someone to whom their gods would deny eternal life. (Significantly, even many apologists of the Colony, such as Guatemala's Bishop Marroquin, shared the disgust felt by the Maya towards Alvarado).

Marroquin, writing in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, expressed admiration for the Maya and their tenacity, even while he hoped and worked for their conversion. The Bishop even extolled Mayan resolve when juxtaposed with Aztec servility, and he detested the needless barbarity that Alvarado displayed toward the Maya on his military campaigns in the highlands. Marroquin later praised the bellicose determination of the Mayas who defied Alvarado, and their prince Tecun Uman who was slaughtered by him. In a fictitious monologue of his 1542 drama *La Conquista de Quetzaltenango*, based on Mayan dance-dramas, Marroquin has Tecun Uman proclaim to Alvarado and his cohorts: "Go and tell your captain then/that we are not Aztecs/whom he can crush astutely/with his troops and soldiers/and if he thought he would persuade me/with his maddened ardor/he will have me at the ready/answering him with my arrows....." (Marti de Cid et al, 103-104). [Translation mine.]

In the same way, the term "Viracocha" that was applied to Spaniards in the Andes, and which resurfaces sometimes in *Huarochiri*- referred to military might, not to omnipotence. In the *HM* the god Viracocha was a braggart and a laughingstock, hardly an omnipotent god.<sup>35</sup> The Conquistador might be named after a fool with power, but he would never be called "Pachacamac," the World Maker, the title of the coastal Yunca deity deemed stronger than the Incas' Inti. Like Viracocha in *Huarochiri*, the Conquistador could sow chaos. But he could not

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<sup>35</sup> Chapter Two of the *HM* spares no mercy in delineating Viracocha's amorous catastrophe with Cavillaca, his beloved. He is hardly a model of masculine omnipotence for Yunca and Yauyo peoples.

move and shake the universe or infuse it with life as did Pachacamac, who breathed *camay*, the life force, into space-time, *pacha*.

The masterpieces painted by the “Cuzco School” during the 17<sup>th</sup> century merged Christological symbolism with the Incan solar cult, but any such fusion with the gods of *Huarochiri* was unthinkable. Yunca and Yauyo gods were too highly sexed, too scathing, too amoral and capricious. The Inquisitorial process implemented in Huarochiri’s villages in 1660 only highlighted how ineffectual church authorities had been in extirpating “idolatries,” as they had promised to do in 1572. The villagers of Huarochiri found no solace in Christ-Inti fusions; they preferred clandestine rites. Just like the Crypto-Jews and Muslims of the same epoch, they practiced their rites secretly throughout the entire Colonial period.<sup>36</sup>

Spanish, Aztec, and Inca imperial philosophies were united by sacrifice. In the Conquest, such sacrifice was exemplified by the colonial misreading of the Man-God dying on the Cross, a gospel which Aztecs assimilated.<sup>37</sup> Those who denied the colonial rendition of the Gospel would die, another form of human sacrifice that punished those who did not accept Jesus’ ostensibly universal gesture for Mankind. Spanish colonial interpretation opined that mankind ended where Jesus’ doctrine was rejected. Spain chose a political reading of John’s apocalypse, where idolaters would “drink the wine of God’s ire...and be tormented with sulfur and fire before the sainted angels and the Lamb of God...”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Spalding sums it up well: “They built a solitary fire, threw in their offerings of coca leaves, cuyes, red maize, chicha, llama fat and potatoes, and spoke in a low voice to their idols in their mother tongue so that they would not be heard....” (*Huarochiri* 262-3). Spalding referred to the 17<sup>th</sup> century; in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Peruvian author Ricardo Palma reported the persistence of “idolatrous” customs and political recalcitrance in—again—the province of Huarochiri, in his story *Los Malditos*.

<sup>37</sup> Jaime Lara 251. Lara parallels the language employed in early colonial texts between the method of preparing the corn tortilla and the offering of Christ’s body on the Cross, in Augustinian devotional texts written in Nahuatl.

<sup>38</sup> Revelations 14:10.

During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, John's fire was made real in Inquisitorial pyres, which sported the European version of human sacrifice: the public incineration of a live human subject for violating the precepts of the One True Faith. Such spectacles of religious terror preceded the actual establishment of the Inquisition in indigenous territories. Franciscan priests did not have to wait for the Inquisition; the Spanish Crown granted them facultative Inquisitorial powers independently. (Bishop Landa enjoyed such powers in Yucatan in the 1660s, admitting to having tortured over 4,000 Mayan "heretics"). Hatuey, Cuba's Taino chieftain, was burned to death as an "infidel" by the first Conquistadors, decades before the actual introduction of the Inquisition in the Caribbean.<sup>39</sup>

The Gospel, in the very twisted interpretation applied to it by Counter-Reformation Spain, reinforced images of physical pain that were no strangers to Aztec ritual. In the hostilities between the Aztecs and the peoples whom they subjugated, prisoners of war were not slaughtered on the battlefield; they met their death on the obsidian altar at the hands of an Aztec priest. According to Aztec doctrine (or political justification) the prisoner personified a god by offering his body to his captors. A cynical observer might note that the deified sacrifice was always the subaltern in the Aztec world: the Tlaxcaltecan, the Maya, etc. Aztec gods and European Inquisitions generally preferred immolating others rather than their own. In a theatrical sense, for the sacrifice to instill terror, it must be of the "other", of whoever occupies an inferior rank in the state-military configuration. Those who held the reins of power would conveniently forego the "honor" of sacrifice. Aztec theology was rife with contradictions, as

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<sup>39</sup> The circus-like burnings of "infidels" in Tlatelolco, Mexico, in 1528, preceded the establishment of the Mexican Inquisition in 1571. In 1517, Spain's Grand Inquisitor, Francisco Cisneros, authorized the informal use of the Inquisition in all Spanish New World territories where Native Americans "relapsed" into their own religions.



was colonial Christianity, with Conquistadors burning Natives in the name of the Prince of Peace.

Contradictions aside, the philosophies of imperial Spain, imperial Tenochtitlan, and imperial Cuzco employed the same hegemonic rhetoric over their conquered populations, with the same ghastly spectacle of the body mutilated (or more diplomatically in the Inca case, interred alive) for God and the gods.

Aztecs, Incas and Conquistadors notwithstanding, the presence of human sacrifice in early periods of Mayan and Andean evolution is undeniable, beginning in 1000 BCE. While never on the Aztec/European scale, it was employed, sporadically, by ruling elites according to their needs, much as the Incas used it. Mayan priests implemented it in Chichen Itza during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, (Soustelle 174), and by the Moche theocracy in northern Peru from the second through the seventh century (Benson and Cook Eds. 31).<sup>40</sup> The Incas, with their rite of *Capac Hucha*, (great offering), practiced human sacrifice of the children of other subjugated Andeans, at the coronations of their kings during the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>41</sup>

The behavior of the Amerindian ruling class constituted the first prototype for the sacrificial assassins of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. The books convey repugnance towards human sacrifice, represented by fire and solar agents (the Inquisition's burning would have inserted itself here with ease). The heroes and heroines who oppose sacrifice represent the water element. In the *HM*, the hero-god who fights the child-eating fire-ogre Huallallo is Paria Caca, bringer of the mountain rains (R.T. Zuidema. *El sistema de ceques de Cuzco y la*

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<sup>40</sup> Alana Cordy Collins, in her essay "Blood and the Moon Priestesses: Spondylus Shells in Moche Ceremony" (Benson and Cook Eds. 35-54) posits a similarity, and possible contact, between the rites of the Moche and Maya elite, who were contemporaries (200-800 ACE).

<sup>41</sup> Benson et al (17) confirm Inca sacrifice as a component of state propaganda.

*organizacion social de la capital de los incas* 15). Paria Caca is of decidedly pre-Incan origin, the Yauyo deity concerned with the core of Andean society: what archaeologist Luis Lumbreras refers to as the unending search for water conservation. The Lords of Xibalba, who share Huallallo's insatiable appetite for human blood, are underworld fire-gods. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, the heroic Twins of the *PV*, disguise themselves as men-fish, incarnating the marine element, rising up from Xibalba's infernal river and freeing humanity from the burning Netherworld.<sup>42</sup>

Water predominates in the pages of both epics. Water is the pre-Aztec, pre-Inca and pre-Hispanic element that outlasts all conquests. Mayan and Andean tradition held fast to their marine deities: Chac of the Mayan cenotes, and Con of the Highlands and the Peruvian coast. Water and its associated god-heroes are humanity's helpers, while fire and its cohorts are its nemesis. In Andean non-Incan cosmology, and in Mayan post-Classic cosmology, fire is the late-coming entity, an ominous and distrusted element. The auto-da-fes of the Inquisition in America would have impressed themselves on the Mayan and Andean mind in this context as well, as a continuation of older ills.

The Aztecs identified themselves as warriors of the sun-god Huitzilopochtli, himself a manifestation of the older fire-god Tezcatlipoca. The Incas were the chosen children of Inti, an imperial sun-god by whom time was measured, who upstaged (for a time) the older, wetter Con.

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<sup>42</sup> Michael J. Grofe, in "The Recipe for Rebirth: Cacao as Fish in the Mythology and Symbolism of the Ancient Maya," referring to the engravings on Stela 5 of Izapa, Chiapas, 300 BCE, remarks (22): "These two fish rise directly from a river that emerges from a smoking incense burner sitting between two figures at the bottom of the scene....V. Garth Norman [Brigham Young University] suggested that this image recalls the fish transformation of the Twins in the Popul Vuh." The river arising from a smoking incense burner recalls Xibalba's smoky waterways.

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* exalt the marine element: Paria Caca quenches Huallallo's fires by literally drowning him in the torrential Andean rains. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, drawn and quartered and tossed in the river, are reborn in the same water and revenge themselves on the infernal fire-gods. Fire demands sacrifice, and water stanches the flames and facilitates life. Water wins the battle, canceling the fire-imposed debt to the gods. The certainty of water's eventual triumph may have attenuated Mayan and Andean fear of Spanish fire and gun-powder, which did not have the paralyzing effect among them that it had in Aztec Tenochtitlan. Water and not fire was the source of life, and water did not demand sacrifice for political ends.

### 1.3 *Roots of Andean/Mayan Bellicosity and Factionalism*

Mayan belligerence was often directed against their own leaders. Dissatisfaction precipitated internal convulsions in Mayan society during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, culminating in the abandonment of Highland Guatemala's ancient urban centers. By the mid tenth century, the Mayan theocracy fell from power, and a system of secular-led city states emerged to replace the older ones. The change was felt from today's Belize to Chiapas, and the internecine feuding was as endless as previous Mayan theocratic city-state confrontations had been. As they fought among themselves, so they fought the Conquistadors. Bernardo Lizana wrote of the first land encounter between the Maya and Captain Cordoba in 1517: "The Mayas invited them [the Conquistadors] to disembark and received them well...But when they made their way to the [Mayan] city, the Mayans led them directly into an ambush" (Villalba, ed. *Historia de Yucatan* 15). The Conquistadors' arrival stoked never-dormant Mayan repudiation of centralized authority. Three centuries earlier, when Mayan priests in Yucatan, aided by Toltec

mercenaries, installed the Mexican Valley's cult of sacrifice, the result was the collapse of Chichen Itza. Lack of Mayan governance helped to erase the Nahua-imported cult of human sacrifice. Those Mayan priests in Yucatan who had enthusiastically embraced it were discredited.<sup>43</sup> In some cases, at Mayapan and possibly in Copan, Mayan priests were assassinated by their own subjects.

The murals of Bonampak, Chiapas, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, document processes of civil war in the period that precedes the overthrow of the Mayan theocratic class. On Bonampak's walls, parades of Mayan war captives are led before equally Mayan princes, in scenes conveying misery and the prisoners' humiliation. While we can only guess at the perspective the Bonampak painters may have shared regarding human sacrifice, the fear that emanates from the very individualized faces of each captive is palpable to any beholder; and their expressivity surprises the contemporary visitor with its realism and its tragedy. Cacaxtla's Mayan murals show bird-warriors defeated by jaguar warriors, with countenances clearly drawn.

These Classic-period Mayan painters (200-900 ACE) of war-scenes perceived, even in the heat of battle, the anguish of the victim. Post-Classic Mayans may have attributed the causes of anguish and suffering to their own sacerdotal class, and by logical extension, to the gods. The petty and rakish character of the *PV*'s Xibalban gods may have had its historical counterpart first in the machinations of Mayan politicians, and then in the persons of Aztec and Spanish politicians who followed in the footsteps of their Mayan forbears.

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<sup>43</sup> Schele and Miller speculate in *The Blood of Kings* (245) that the Mayan elite were more responsible than Nahua (Toltec/Aztec) armies in imposing the cult of human sacrifice in Yucatan. Nonetheless, recent (2012-2014) Mayan archaeological excavations, particularly in Tikal and Copan, show a clear interference of the Mexican valley in Mayan societies, particularly in the case of Teotihuacan's constant meddling in the royal households of both Copan and Tikal. Tikal's rulers were sometimes chosen directly by the Nahua elites in Teotihuacan in the Classic period.

In the *Popul Vuh* the Hero Twins Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque prepare for their confrontation with the Xibalbans with enthusiasm, even eagerness. Xibalba is not the Christian Hell of eternal punishment, but a more abstract “place of fear” (Michael Coe. *Breaking the Maya Code* 204). The Mayan definition of Xibalba does in fact imply that it is one’s fear that turns the place into a hell. Fear had broken the spirit of the Twins’ progenitors, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, when they had lost their wager with the Lords of Xibalba. The defeat of One and Seven Hunahpu had allowed the Lords to terrorize our Middle Sky-World, *Uleew*.

Fortunately, fear does not paralyze the second Hero Twins. On the contrary, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque adopt increasingly provocative postures before their satanic majesties in Xibalba. The Maya conceived Xibalba to be a sort of sunken pool or cenote/cave, as archaeologist Guillermo de Anda points out (Kristin Romey. “Diving the Maya Underworld” 30); fiery Xibalba is imagined to be in close proximity to water. For the Maya, water was the source of all life, so Xibalba’s nearness to it is intentional, because even the dreaded “Place of Fear” must take part in the duality of existence. Xibalba kills and engenders, being alpha and omega. We go down to the fires to be reborn. Unlike Orpheus’ descent, the Mayan story promises triumph over death. And unlike Aztec, Inca, or European theology, there would be no need to offer a live subject, whether as sacrifice or as relapsed pagan, to guarantee access to Paradise. Paradises and infernos were subject to endless transformations in the Mayan cosmos. Here and now took precedence over the great beyond, because eternity itself was not unchanging. It too was cyclical.

Monotheistic time is linear, as Albert Camus observed, with a paradise always fading in the distance.<sup>44</sup> We move from a lost Garden of Eden to one recovered in the future. Judeo-

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<sup>44</sup> Camus 27: His book *The Rebel* (1956) discusses the influence of linear time on the development of Western thought. The millennial movements of the Franciscans and Jesuits in the New World, during the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>

Christian and Islamic society want to believe that the End of Days will be just, and benevolent, thus opening the door to a redeemed and unchanging eternity. In contrast Mayan time was a series of interlocked circles: solar, lunar, and millennial. If one was badly off in one incarnation, the next could be better even during the Here and Now, providing that one did spiritually get caught in the Place of Fear: Xibalba. Xibalba is not a place of eternal torment. One chooses to descend to it, and one may choose, by confronting fear, to ascend from it. As with fear, Xibalba is finite and may be overcome. As with fear, it is constantly recurring.

In the scheme of Andean time, we simultaneously inhabit and project ourselves in all forms of time, past, present and future, in a physical space where the three forms of time conjoin: this is *pacha*, the space-chronology that we call the world. When defining Andean community organization, anthropologist Alice Spedding defines the home as “the site to which all souls return” (Spedding 2003). Death is undifferentiated from life introduces itself into the *pacha* of the living, with none of the Gothic horror trappings of the Western imaginary.<sup>45</sup> The *pacha* is the union of space and time in all of its dimensions<sup>46</sup>. Human beings act out their destiny in the *Kay Pacha*, the present space-time, linked by Andean philosophers<sup>47</sup> with our sensory world, which resonates with the world of *munay*, the heart. *Hanan Pacha*, the upper

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centuries, while not mentioned by Camus, substantiate Camus’ observation regarding how the present was constantly sacrificed-the term is deliberate-to the future and its promised redemption. Utopia was nowhere, and in no-time.

<sup>45</sup> The tremendous care offered to Inca royal mummies may have sprung from a similar source, though the Incas turned it to the very political end of monopolizing, via the mummies’ retinue, the few arable lands of the Andes.

<sup>46</sup> Frank Salomon explains (Salomon and Urioste 14): “Huarochiri people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space and does so, moreover, at any scale.” Andean thought jibes well with quantum physics and its flexible “space-time.”

<sup>47</sup> Frank Salomon adds in note 510 of *Huarochiri* (105) that the Quechua word *yachay* means to consider, to think. This is the term by which Andean religious teachers are referenced; hence, “philosopher” would be an apropos title.

world, exists alongside our *Kay Pacha*. *Hanan Pacha* is a sphere of thought more elevated than our mundane *Kay*, and one can attain it through the exigent route of mental rigor: this is the Andean *yachay*, intellectual, abstract thought.

*Hanan Pacha* is the physical and spiritual manifestation of *yachay*. It is a world of sublime perception, identified in terms of time with the future, which is coeval with the present and the past. Under the veil of daily existence, the three time skeins become tangible and interlock. The past, the inner world wrongly identified by Colonial missionaries as an “underworld,” is called *Urco Pacha*. It is the repository of memory and recollections of the past. It is a shadow space which, like Xibalba, must be explored and not shunned. Just as fears comprise the marrow of Xibalba, *Urco Pacha* may also represent a personal hell. Is there anything more psychologically debilitating than remaining a prisoner of past memories?

Andean spiritual enlightenment consisted in unfettering oneself from the three mental constructions of past, present and future, allowing one to see beyond the tyranny of the present moment. Logically then, time is multi-leveled and re-recurring in *Huaro-chiri*. Segments and fragments are left hanging in mid-air in one part of the text; they merge and clarify each other in kaleidoscopic fashion in another part, leading to non-chronological completion. Histories are constantly reconfigured, but no hecatomb, no disaster or transformation, no *pachacuti* (“world-turning”) was forever. The same can be said for the *PV*. Unlike the biblical Judgment Day, whose verdicts are final, the descent below (Mayan) or within (Andean) was transitory.<sup>48</sup> Paria Caca paralyzes the Ogre Huallallo in the eternal time of the myth, but human beings will continue to battle Huallallo every time that he symbolically reappears. In Chapter 8, sections

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<sup>48</sup> Victor Montejo, Jakalteco Mayan anthropologist and writer, remarks in *Q’ani* that indigenous epics have a “telescopic” quality, enabling one to extract contemporary lessons from older histories: “In this process, historical events and modern conflicts are interwoven in a dynamic cultural process that reflects ethnic conflicts” (Intro. XXIX).

104-105 of *Huarochiri*, we learn that the monster is not dead. There is no happy end. There is in fact no end. Huallallo has fled to the “low country, the Antis” (Salomon and Urioste 68). He does not dominate now, but he lurks always. Within the confines of Xibalba, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque had vanquished the Lords, but they still lurked in the world as well, though debilitated. They morphed into the diseases and misfortunes that we confront on a daily basis. The Lords were “...no longer Lords, rather fears and all manner of illness...and in this manner they faded and their empire was destroyed...” (Saenz de Santa Maria, *Popul Vuh* 109). One can only conjecture how colonial-era evangelists would have reacted to this message of non-eternal Eternity, of a hereafter with no predictable status, except that of change.

In every generation, human beings would need to rise again and defeat evil. Time was characterized by its repetition, its varied manifestations, and its clashing and merging cycles.

In the *PV* and the *HM* destiny can always be modified, not by prayers and denial, but through intelligence, valor, and well-employed trickery. The texts illustrate how Mayan and Andean world-views led to belligerency against all centralized authority, be it Aztec, Inca, Spanish, or more significantly, their own, before the time of the Colony and after it as well.

John Howland Rowe emphasized that Yauyos and Yuncas, the primary narrators of *Huarochiri*, maintained their cultural autonomy throughout the period of Inca domination (1450-1532) and well into the Spanish colony.<sup>49</sup> Inca expansion, whose leading proponents such as Emperor Tupac Yupanqui are ridiculed in the 23<sup>rd</sup> chapter of the *HM*, had absorbed within its borders over 5,000 years of heterogeneous Andean development, as well as geo-

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<sup>49</sup> Rowe is quoted in “Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest” 186-192; Karen Spalding adds, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Huarochiri region gave “evidence of the continuous maintenance of traditional ceremonies and the solidarity of Andean society in preserving its customs...” (267).



climates and modes of production that diverged from the Incas.<sup>50</sup> Tensions had exploded several times within the superficially unified Inca state, first between Pachacutec and his brother Urco in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>51</sup>, then fatally between Huascar and his Cuzco faction, and Atahualpa and his supporters in Quito. Fratricidal war was in full swing when Pizarro arrived in 1532. Even after the Conquest, two puppet “emperors,” Manco Inca and Paullo Inca, disputed the solar throne, the last with Spanish backing. But for other Andeans, the literal beheading of the Inca empire whether in the personage of Atahualpa (1533) or Tupac Amaru I (1572) did not produce unmitigated doom. As with the Mayan city-states after the Aztec implosion, Andean tribal agglomerations revived after the Inca Empire expired. The Andes, like Mayab, resembled a chessboard, so when Spanish fire consumed one square, another took its place.

This political fragmentation is substantiated and embodied in the protagonists, gods, humans and animals of *Huarochiri*. They had existed before the Incan armies. After Inca collapse, the pre-Incan gods grew stronger. The Andes and Mayab were ungovernable, with violent uprisings at regular intervals from the time of the Conquest, throughout the Colony. Their ungovernable nature was what insured a higher degree of indigenous cultural survival.

Seen in historical context, *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* are products of this fertile disorder, where rebel cosmology leads to confrontational attitudes. In their narratives, a questioning inconformity vis-à-vis the gods was rooted in internal conflicts. These spilled over into angry rejection of Aztec, Inca, and Spanish imperialism. Choque Sosa, Andean woman par

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<sup>50</sup> Archaeologist Michael Moseley reminds us of the different ways of life in the lowlands, the mountains, and the arid coast which date back to 10,000 years ago, known as the coastal Pajian tradition, the Central Andean lithic tradition, and the Atacama sea-faring tradition. Contemporary Peruvian archaeology follows this 3-fold scheme.

<sup>51</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa XXXIII, 98: Sarmiento insists that Urco, not Pachacutec, had been designated royal heir.

excellence in the *HM*, resists the sexual advances of a god unless he promised to irrigate her fields. Afterwards she eludes him still. Chapter 6, sections 84-85 of *Huarochiri* are humorous and proto-feminist: “After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, ‘Let’s sleep together.’ ‘Not right now,’ she replied, ‘let’s sleep together tomorrow or the day after. Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, ‘I wish I could sleep with her right now,’ and promised her all kinds of things” (Salomon and Urioste 85). Meanwhile Tohil, Quiche-Maya fire guardian, imposes a harsh tribute on the Cakchiquel Mayas in section 14 of the *Popul Vuh*, but the Cakchiquel steal his fire without paying Tohil tribute, thereby preserving their freedom: “They were of the house of the bat; their [Cakchiquel] idol called Chamalcam had bat’s wings, and passing them through the smoke, they filched the fire without permission, without being vanquished. Those who asked for the fire were the vanquished ones” (Saenz de Santa Maria, 120). Gods had to be deluded; one should have no illusions about their benevolence. By not submitting to Tohil, the Cakchiquel freed themselves from his stipulated fire-sacrifice.

The narrative evidence given briefly here will be interpreted in greater detail in Chapter Two of this thesis. For now let us state unequivocally that these Native American epics tout antipathy towards authority per se, irrespective of its ethnic or religious origin.

#### 1.4 *Translated Narratives: Interpretations and Cultural Distortion*

Colonial documentation<sup>52</sup> reports the existence of clandestine gatherings of Native American religion till the end of the 1700s. The Inquisition persecuted the Native peoples due to a loophole: while it officially dealt with secret (and largely imagined) Jewish and Moorish, or Protestant, practice, the issue of Amerindians “relapsing” into their former religions allowed

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<sup>52</sup> I am referring to Landa and Lizana in Yucatan, Murua and Betanzos in the Andean region, etc.

the Holy Office to extend its censorship, and its torture, to these Native recidivists.<sup>53</sup> The asymmetric “syncretism” which colonial apologists espouse applied to artistic decoration that fused with Christianity. Threatening, the *PV* and the *HM* retained the original Native theology.

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* were each edited by a Catholic priest, and neither one was disseminated among the general population during the Colony. On the contrary, they remained in the hands of the clergy till well after Independence. They were deemed to be collections of demonic pre-Christian legends; not for nothing did Peruvian author Ricardo Palma utilize Huarochiri’s Lurin valley as the setting for his tale *Los Malditos*. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Dominican priest Francisco Jiménez had edited, with his limited knowledge of the Quiche-Maya language, an anonymous manuscript called the Book of Council, (literally of the Council Mat), known as the *Popul Vuh*.<sup>54</sup> Jimenez’ translation, with serious errors of syntax and semantics, appeared near Guatemala City in 1703. The book, as we know from archaeological research at San Bartolo, retells stories painted on Mayan murals and sculpted on walls for over 2,500 years. Before the Colony’s destruction of Mayan codices and hieroglyphic writing, the book we call the *Popul Vuh* was written by an unknown Mayan scribe, or scribes, in the mid-1500s, in Chichicastenango. Jiménez, sent to convert the Maya but somewhat sympathetic to their plight, did not attempt to camouflage the non-Christian content which glared at the reader. The Mayan vision had survived the colonial experience surprisingly intact, and sarcastic.

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<sup>53</sup> Since the Inquisition authorized “extraordinary” powers to the Franciscan order in its persecution of Amerindian subjects, and such persecution was realized with ferocity in 16<sup>th</sup> century Yucatan and 17<sup>th</sup> century Northwest Argentina, it is ludicrous to claim that the Inquisition did not have power over the Native population. “Extraordinary” torture was applied to Andeans and Mayans prior to the actual establishment of the Office.

<sup>54</sup> The mat was an ancient symbol of advice-giving among the Maya. Classic and post-Classic Mayan art shows the prince seated cross-legged on the jaguar throne, which is covered by the mat, (*pop*) counseling his subjects.

The publishing history of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* is more tortuous, the result of confrontation, forced evangelization, and use of informants in clerical trials of Andean worshippers. At the very end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Francisco de Avila, energetic exterminator of Andean belief systems, annotated a Quechua manuscript he had received, or robbed, from an unknown informant of Huarochiri province. It told of the “idolatries” and “superstitions” of the Yunca and Yauyo peoples who lived at this crossroad of the imperial Andean highway, the *Qapac Nan*. The manuscript, begun in 1598, was completed in 1608, and it was written in a style of Quechua that signaled its acquisition as a second language: inevitability, since its authorship reflected the Yauyo/Yunca perspective, not the imperial Inca. Avila’s relationship to this/these unknown informant(s) is not clear. But the Yunca and Yauyo traditions, which sanctified the landscapes with the mountain-huacas of the non-Incan gods, such as Paria Caca and Huallallo, testified to a very ancient origin for the myths of the *Manuscript*.

Although Jiménez may have felt more sympathy towards his subjects than Avila did towards his, neither priest should be viewed as a defender of the native peoples. Both supported the economic servitude of the Indians, Jiménez more diplomatically than Avila, who would be tried for abuses against Huarochiri’s inhabitants.<sup>55</sup> Even so, Jiménez’ role in the building of the Chichicastenango convent would have been a bitter pill for the Maya to swallow. Chichicastenango (also known as Quetzaltenango) was the site of Prince Tecun Uman’s death at the hands of Pedro de Alvarado in 1524. The downfall of Tecun Uman, who had led resistance to Cortes’ lieutenant, was one of history’s bitterest moments for the Quiche-Maya. Their cousins, the Cendal Maya, had risen up en masse shortly before Jiménez’ arrival,

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<sup>55</sup> Jiménez is said to have remarked to an elderly missionary recently arrived in Guatemala that “...the Indians preserve a sort of sacred space for their deepest thoughts, in which it is impossible to penetrate...” (Saenz de Santa Maria 9). This impenetrability enabled the Maya to maintain much of pre-Contact culture despite colonial coercion.

so that priest had the unenviable task of reconciling the Maya to a colonial presence that they continued to reject.

Jiménez was a Spaniard; Avila's origin is murkier. He may have been Spanish, mestizo, or a Christianized Indian. The last would explain his better knowledge of Quechua as opposed to Jiménez' limited comprehension of Maya. Whatever the case, Avila's economic extortion and corruption were *vox populi* in Huarochiri's Lurin valley years before he used the *Huarochiri Manuscript* as proof of the Indians' degenerate and pagan nature. Yet it was Avila's questionable financial dealings in the Lurin Valley which went on trial, in colonial courts, in 1607 and 1608. Avila presented himself as a committed purist, dedicated to demolishing pagan huacas and sacred tombs, but he was reputed to have trafficked in the pagan items that he publicly abhorred. Despite the public outcry against him, colonial justice protected its own, and Avila was later promoted to a higher position in the Archbishopric of Chuquisaca, Bolivia.<sup>56</sup>

In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Bernardino de Sahagun compiled a landmark collection of Aztec beliefs with a clear aim: to battle the devil through knowledge of Satan's ways, paving the way for the mass evangelization of the Nahua peoples. In Sahagun's prologue to his *Florentine Codex* the priest employs the popular trope of the clergy as "...doctors of the soul for the curing of spiritual ills..." and adds that one must have knowledge and skill (*pericia*) to be able to "...preach against these things, and to know how they were utilized when idolatry was practiced...".<sup>57</sup> While the circumstances surrounding the original colonial editing of Sahagun's tomes, *Huarochiri*, and the *Popul Vuh*, were each unique, Sahagun's impact can be

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<sup>56</sup> Salomon and Urioste (27) provide documentation, as does Gerard Taylor. Avila's case was hardly atypical.

<sup>57</sup> Lopez Austin and Garcia Quintana provide the original quote in their edition of Sahagun's work (1988, 31).

seen in both Jiménez and Avila, in terms of their motives: know the devil well so that you may combat him, whether elegantly (Jiménez) or sloppily (Avila).

The ideological antipathy felt by the priests to their material, combined with an imperfect knowledge of indigenous language—at least in Jiménez’ case—form part of the overall narrative of the *PV* and the *HM*. However, divergent and faulty interpretations of the original Hebrew Bible in no way impede the study of that book, and conflictive biblical exegesis is part of a literary Canon considered sacred in Judaism and Christianity alike.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, erroneous interpretations of our books, called rightly by Arguedas (re: p. 1, Introduction) Amerindian “bibles,” and the contributions and distortions of their successive translations, all form part of the two epics’ corpus.

Certainly the initial colonial transmitters (Avila, Jiménez) of these texts had no desire to romanticize the rebellious Indians’ who remained an embarrassment for Spanish colonial power. Avila and Jiménez, following in Sahagun’s footsteps, needed to find a cure for Mayan and Andean paganism; and Avila was hardly averse to bleeding his “patients” in the financial sense. So whatever the translation defects which mark the history of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*, the pagan rebellion which must have irked Avila and Jiménez remains palpable on the page, whatever the many shortcomings of generations of exegetes.

As with the Bible, the multiple versions of the *PV* and the *HM* would be incorporated into the Canon of commentary surrounding the texts themselves. And, exceeding even those Amerindian colonial chronicles, such as those of the Maya-origin Gaspar Chi, or the Lucana-origin Guaman Poma, in which sympathy for the Indian was preponderant the dominant

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<sup>58</sup> Re: the writings of the Talmud in Judaism and the commentaries of the Church Fathers in Catholicism. In Islam, divergent interpretations led to the founding of the *Shia* variant of the faith, breaking with the original *Sunna*.

theological praxis in the *PV* and the *HM* was neither syncretistic nor Hispanic. It was indigenous.

### 1.5 *Conceptualizing the Popul Vuh and the Huarochiri Manuscript Within Colonial Mestizo Literature*

The colonial equation cannot be reduced to dichotomies or fusion. Mixing, “mestizaje,” is not a harmonious syncretism of Amerindian and European, but the result of a hegemonic system (the European) imposed upon other hegemonic systems (Amerindian). Varying gradations of violence, coercion, and brutality were wielded by all of the actors, and all of the peoples, in this tragedy. The *Huarochiri Manuscript* and the *Popul Vuh* were the end product of years of military intervention and social contact between conflicting indigenous American cultures against Early Modern Spanish culture. The latter, far from monolithic, was torn apart by ideological and Late Medieval ethnic conflicts even while it conquered and colonized the Native American.<sup>59</sup>

In the maelstrom of the Spanish conquest, different peoples slaughtered each other, and sometimes intersected. In general, these intersections came about in the framework of a color-based hierarchy, where whiteness, Spanishness, and freedom from Muslim, Jewish or Gypsy “taint” occupied the highest rung in the Americas. The *PV* and the *HM* embody the cultural struggle described by A. Cornejo Polar, the “...multiethnic, multilingual, and pluricultural essence of the societies of the Americas which are naturally reflected in their literatures.”<sup>60</sup> The

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<sup>59</sup> The Vatican Bull *Sublimis Deus* (1537) came about in response to denunciations made by Spanish priests against atrocities committed by the Conquistadors. The papal declaration reaffirmed the human nature of the Amerindian; the dehumanization process having been initiated during the Conquest of the Caribbean islands.

<sup>60</sup> Cornejo and Cornejo in *Literatura Peruana* (2000, 17) speak in terms of a “pugna” which may be translated as “rivalry” and not struggle. Their point is well taken. Cultures do not merge peacefully in peacetime, let alone war.

struggles in the texts are not only political. They extend to diverse breeds of alphabetization, to many forms of colonial and indigenous memory. Struggles were acted, painted, and danced; and the texts reflected the spoken, written, and finally, the interpreted and the translated meanings inherent in them, and those subsequently attributed to them.

With respect to oral tradition, Andean religions saw the spoken word, the primordial sound, engendering Creation. The *HM* reproduced the spoken will of the pre-Incan gods, re:

Conirraya Viracocha, who, once arisen from Titicaca, "...created all the beautifully terraced hillsides: he spoke them into existence with merely a word."<sup>61</sup> The persecution of Andean religion throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries truncated this oral creation, as conversations may die with their speakers. In this new and European-style "lettered" world, to borrow a phrase from Angel Rama, the most efficacious method of retaining the teachings of the non-Incan Andean universe was writing in the lingua franca which the Incas had militarily imposed: Quechua.

Conquests aside, Quechua's colonial popularity owed more to the Spanish than to the Incas. The linguistic diversity which marked the Andes prior to Pizarro diminished year by year. Quechua was adopted as the Spanish Empire's lingua franca in the Southern Cone, easing the hoped-for mass evangelization. With one common tongue, understood by all the indigenous elites of the Andes, missionary efforts would, it was wished, proceed smoothly.

In sharp contrast with the Andeans, the Maya were already "literate" in a European sense: they had a complex written language, based on syllabic hieroglyphs. The figure of the Mayan scribe irritated the clergy, as it was impossible to claim that these "barbarians" had no writing. Hence the Crown abolished the use of Mayan hieroglyphs in Yucatan and

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<sup>61</sup> In *Black Rainbow*, (1976) John Bierhorst collected many Peruvian non- Incan stories. Quote p. 72.



Guatemala,<sup>62</sup> incinerating Mayan codices in Landa's 1562 bonfire in Mani. Yet Mayan painting was ignored in large part by the Spanish Church. What Bishop Landa never suspected was that painting and writing were, for the Maya, twin actions signified by the same verb: "dzib."<sup>63</sup> In the magnificent paintings discovered by Bill Saturno in San Bartolo, Guatemala, which are over 2,200 years old, motifs from the *Popul Vuh* appear, anteceding the writing of the book and substantiating its origin. The Xibalbans are defied in painted dances more than a millennium old.<sup>64</sup> Writing in *Archaeology* in 2010, Zach Zorich noted that the dances portrayed 2,000 years ago in Mayan art have survived into the present (48-51). The dances tell the story of the Twins in Xibalba, and many of them were abolished during the Conquest. So that the parables would not be forgotten, they had to be transcribed in the Latin alphabet brought by Spain, basing the re-writing on the artistic traditions that Landa and his ilk either discounted or ignored.

Utilizing another register, the Andean scribe recorded his histories via a complicated mnemonic. This is the system of exponential binary knots<sup>65</sup> called *quipus*, the majority of which were burned in the Viceroy Toledo's "idolatry" extirpations of 1572, and again in 1608-11. Mnemonic knots allowed varied interpretations of the same verbal signifier; the Andean

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<sup>62</sup> Thanks to the investigations of Tatiana Proskouriakoff, Valentine Knosorov and David Stuart, we know that the syllabic Mayan alphabet has approximately 800 characters, which may be read as component parts or entire pictures.

<sup>63</sup> In *Breaking the Maya Code* (1992) Michael Coe explains the phonetic complements of Mayan words, images with a fixed syllabic value, which reinforce the verbal signifier. The scribe must, then, be a painter: calligraphy.

<sup>64</sup> Grofe 37: "Justin Kerr (2000) notes that a series of cylindrical Classic period [200-900] vases from the central Petén depict images of two catfish. This recalls the description of the transformed Hero Twins in the *Popul Vuh* as *winaq-qar* ("person-fish"), also a term for a catfish in Cakchiquel."

<sup>65</sup> Gary Urton and Clive Ruggles, in *Skywatching in the Ancient World*, (2007) explain the dual nature of the quipus, ordered and read in base pairs of visual and textural oppositions (form, size, arrangement, positioning, material) which define them as Saussure defined language itself, as a series of oppositions. Urton's ongoing research into the quipus has yielded the possibility that they may be syllabic, making them a knotted alphabet, and not only a register of abstract concepts. Urton claims to have deciphered the word *Pachacamac*, the Yunca Creator, in the quipus.

scribe, the *quipucamayoc*, passed from multiple meanings to the phonetic alphabet. With the banning of the quipus, the Andean visual code comprised of dualisms that regenerated from knotted cords to bifurcated roads, was reduced to linear writing. It was a harsh rupture with a tradition that extended back 5,000 years, found at America's oldest city, Caral. For their part, the Maya of the post-Conquest had to configure their thought, encapsulated by hieroglyphs that encouraged multiple readings, within the confines of the Western alphabet. Mayan and Andean scribes, busy re-configuring thought, created a *modus vivendi* between form and content. The medium had been Westernized, but the message remained resolutely Amerindian, the voice of the Amerindians excluded from all Empires, whether native or foreign.

In the translation/transmission trajectory of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* there are two parallel processes of literacy and illiteracy. In the first, the Mayan scribe, the painter/calligrapher “dzib,” transitioned from hieroglyphic alphabets to the illiteracy imposed by the Spanish colony: this included the phase of annihilation of Mayan writings, the abolition of recited Mayan theatre pieces, and the official extermination of Mayan beliefs. To the Colony's chagrin, the Maya perpetuated their beliefs through the medium of the Western alphabet. The second process occurred among non-Incan Andeans, transitioning from a rich orality in Yunca and Yauyo languages to the imposed use of Quechua, structured and mimetic, closely related to the hierarchy of symbols represented by the Incas' quipus. John Charles in *Allies at Odds* (2010, 77-101) reminds us that the Church originally encouraged the use of quipus in evangelization attempts; but the quipus, like the Mayan codices, were later banned and burned. Although the quipus predate the Incas by 3,000 years, they are identified with the Incas above all. For the inhabitants of Huarochiri's Lurin Valley, they were the talking and binding threads of Inca conquest.

The Spanish Conquest brought muteness to the Andes, the eventual disappearance of many languages, and, in the first two centuries, the strengthening of Cuzco's Quechua as the Spanish imperial lingua franca. Later Andeans of all ethnic origins transitioned, like the Maya, to the Latin alphabet. The Maya took their own tongue with them, its many dialectical variations; Yuncas and Yauyos had a double struggle, as the tongue of their former Inca overlords became their vehicle for written communication. Adversaries of the Incas now parodied Inca emperors in Quechua. The Quechua used in *Huarochiri* contained elements of Aru, one of the extinct tongues of the region. Aru was, by the time of *Huarochiri*'s compilation, no one's native tongue in the Lurin Valley, and Quechua would suffice as the vehicle through which Yuncas and Yauyos conveyed their historical and theological testimony.

Andean oral tradition and Mayan performativity bowed before the European gunpowder, and this trauma, the sudden silencing of traditions and beliefs, haunts the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. In their best translations, both texts display the unmistakable signs of oral declamation and theatrical dance and performance which accompanied the first recitations of the *HM* and the first performances<sup>66</sup> of the *PV*. The texts maintain vestiges of that time before Amerindian religions were completely silenced in the public sphere.

In this tangled process of destruction, translation and reconstruction of indigenous language and thought, there are other processes. There is the metamorphosis of New World Spanish not only due to Amerindian words, but, as slavery grew, to imported African concepts. Finally we have the stilted passage of colonial American Spanish to Victorian English and 19<sup>th</sup> century French, first languages of the modern translations of the *HM* and the *PV*. These first

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<sup>66</sup> Mayanist Justin Kerr has assembled a superb compilation of artistic representations of the Hero Twins on vases, ceramics, paintings and jewelry from Mesoamerica, dating back to the first century. Facsimiles of the originals may be studied, (and were studied by this author) in the Mesoamerican Art Room of the Denver Art Museum.

versions were at times unintentionally comic, as Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque passed through the heavy filter of Gallic orientalism in Brasseur de Bourbourg's version of the *Popul Vuh*. The Victorian English of Clements Markham de-sexualized the scabrous sexual humor of the god Paria Caca's fruitless pursuit of Choque Sosa, giving Andean lust the air of a Burne-Jones rendering of Merlin and the nymph Nimue in the painted visions of King Arthur's court.<sup>67</sup>

Despite the ridiculousness of the translations—or, in the case of Markham, rewritings—all the versions conveyed the recalcitrant nature of the protagonists and their insubordinate characters. Not even the most absurd rendering mangled the substance of the plots, and their dislike for centralized authority. However distant the intellectual background of the many translators may have been from the texts, the structure of their plot lines, and their incendiary political content, remained intact. Claude Levi Strauss observed that the ideological message of literature can survive any translation, since literature is somewhat less dependent than poetry on correct replication of style, and the observation holds true for our epics.

When poetry is distorted, its entire essence can be lost, since form and content are indivisible in the poem: form is what distinguishes poetry from prose. But mythology, (the Bible, the Koran, the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, etc.), "...remains preserved, even through the worst translation...Its substance does not lie in its style, its original music, or its syntax, but in the story it tells" (Levy Strauss 188).<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Markham, in his Chapter 3/VII, p. 145, partial translation of *Huarochiri*, writes: "Paria Caca asked her, in very loving and tender words, why she was weeping and she, without knowing who he was, thus answered 'My father, I weep because this crop of maize will be lost and is drying up for lack of water.' He replied that she might console herself and take no further thought, for that she had gained what he had lost, namely, his love..." This is a reimagining, not a translation, of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* that eliminates its ribald sexual innuendo.

<sup>68</sup> Hebrew and Latin translations of the Bible differ quite radically in their readings of the Old Testament prophetic books, as do the Sunna and the Shia regarding Koranic exegesis. Still, monotheistic mythology exerts a strong pull on all its respective followers, notwithstanding the known existence of alternate interpretations of the same texts.

Levi Strauss' opinion is germane to this thesis. The best translations of our texts, done with the collaboration of indigenous translators, such as Dennis Tedlock's version of the *Popul Vuh*,<sup>69</sup> or Frank Salomon and Jorge Urioste's *Huarochiri*, offer humoristic and sarcastic expression. In comparison with Native American humor, Early Modern Spaniards and Victorian Englishmen painted their verbal canvas in apocalyptic and sentimental tones. They too, were products of their epochs and cosmovisions. Mayan and Andean cosmovisions, with their rejection of divine authority and their dark, (even snarky at times) humor, were worlds removed from Victorian prudishness and Counter-Reformation zeal. Modern-day skeptics may find more in common with ancient American stories than with his European forbears of the Early Modern period, who are (superficially) closer to the Westerner in time and space.

### 1.6 Translation and Linguistic Intentionality

Political force transforms our manner of organizing and perceiving space. Verbally, power strings together new words and new syntax. Michel Foucault (*Power-Volume III* 120) asserted that power is graced with reproductive and destructive features, and the contradiction coins its own discourse. This was how the Maya saw the planet *Nohock Ek* ("great star" or Venus), alternately auguring war or peace depending on its morning or evening appearance; this was how the Andeans saw their *huacas*, representing equally the monstrous and the beautiful. Political contingency determined the meaning chosen.

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<sup>69</sup> Tedlock remarks on p. 17 of his preface: "In 1988, Mayan scholars and educators in Guatemala established the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala...for the first time ever, all the orthographic decisions were made by native speakers of the languages in question. In the present edition of this book, I retain old spellings only for proper names appearing in the *Popul Vuh* manuscript and other early documents...Otherwise I have been guided by the decision of the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas." Tedlock is to be commended for his fidelity to Mayan sources.

Translation implies power, especially when the colonizer is translating the words of the vanquished, though some tried to render their own languages as close as possible to the conceptual world of the target text. 19<sup>th</sup> century translators of the *PV* enabled the Twins to retain their tantalizing “otherness,” on a personal level, even if their Mayan society remained too mysterious, and exoticized, to the Western translators.<sup>70</sup> Sometimes the translator incorporated too much of his/her own language into the world of the target text, as Markham did in his (flowery, and puritanical) version of *Huarochiri*. There Paria Caca, libidinous Andean god, spoke in the highfaluting tones of Lord Nelson. While the *PV* and the *HM* underwent idiomatic surgery in all manner of translations, even the worst examples, to paraphrase Levi-Strauss, did not meaningfully alter the subversion of their message.<sup>71</sup>

The dilemma of translation and meaning, of signifier and signified as it pertains to the *Huarochiri Manuscript* and the *Popul Vuh* can be summed up as follows:

- 1) The texts are a form of original expression of Native American civilizations that detail the Native conception of existence, modified but not crushed by the Conquest.
- 2) The texts are receptors, and transmitters, of linguistic interference and cross-fertilization including Quiche and Cakchiquel Maya, post-Trent III Quechua with Yunca and Yauyo syntax, colonial Castilian, and 19<sup>th</sup> century (Victorian) French and English.
- 3) They transmit cosmological/mythical teachings that are themselves overtly political.

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<sup>70</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg’s 1861 translation of the *Popul Vuh* painted the Maya in Orientalist, pseudo-Arabian colors, but did manage to transmit the flavor of skepticism and rebellion, despite the cultural inaccuracy.

<sup>71</sup> Echoing G.C.Spivak’s query regarding whether or not the subaltern can speak, these two epics allowed the subaltern not only to speak, but to positively scream.

If one did not know how to decipher syllabic hieroglyphs, one was illiterate from the vantage point of the Maya elite. If one could not assemble the messages conveyed by the patterns of the quipus, one was illiterate in the Andean (pre and post Inca) context. The masses, be they Maya, Andean, or European, were *all* quite illiterate within their respective parameters. But the transmitters of cultural memory, the scribes-Mayan, Andean, and European-were decidedly “literate” in their own spheres. Therefore, the fourth function regarding our texts which relates to this process of translation, twisting, and reframing is:

4) The transition from oral performance or the painted/hieroglyphic panel, and the binary combinations of the quipu’s knots, to the Latin alphabet, so as to preserve the Native cosmologies despite colonial coercion. This is the Early Modern aspect of what 20<sup>th</sup> century theorists labeled “cultural memory.”

Before the Conquest, the myths and parables of the *PV* and the *HM* were staged in the sacred theatre of the Americas, similar in tone to the sacramental presentations of medieval Europe. Indigenous belief endured in post-Conquest America, conveyed in the new materiality of the European book. The change was superficial, and much of the original philosophy was preserved, and enhanced. Since shamanism, with its emphasis on the unitary essence underlying a world of changing form, was intrinsic to Mayan and Andean non-Incan cultures, the new external form of the paged book was less objectionable than we might imagine. The question of materiality influenced the form eventually taken by the *PV* and the *HM*, once the Mayan hieroglyph and the Andean quipu knot were deemed graphic manifestations of paganism. Barely one generation after Alvarado’s conquest of Mayab, Mayan scribes were bending Latin alphabet to the aims of the *Popul Vuh*.<sup>72</sup> Following the publication of the *PV* in

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<sup>72</sup> Luis O. Arata remarks in “Interactions from Text to Cosmos in the Popul Vuh” (15-17) that Mayan scribes showed remarkable adaptability in appropriating the European alphabet for their own spiritual purposes.

the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Latin alphabet became the principle vehicle for transmitting Maya prophecy, as seen in the Books of *Chilaam Balaam*, which adapted the Mayan conception of cyclical time to Gregorian measurements. In the post-Conquest Andes, non-Incan peoples hid their quipus, whose oral recitation recalled an Andean mnemonic code that preceded the Incas by thousands of years. Yuncas and Yauyos recalled stories older than the Incas, writing them down in a “twice conquered” language: Inca imposed Quechua in Spanish imposed phonetic characters. Yet whatever the form, the old gods and heroes remained stubborn and politically incendiary.

The *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* testify to an elasticity of translation, not only from language to language, or civilization to civilization, but of ideas and thought. Multilingualism affected the stylistics of the texts at different junctures in their history, the product of the violence and asymmetry of the colonial system, and of conflicts within the original indigenous cultures. We will now turn to the issue of how this elasticity manifested itself linguistically and culturally, first in the *Popul Vuh* and then in *Huarochiri*.

The *Popul Vuh* as we have it is a product of the post-Conquest as much as of the ancient American theology. The anonymous 16<sup>th</sup> century Quiche-Maya scribe(s), whose manuscript Jiménez attempted to translate, knew the societies of the conqueror and the conquered. Possibly, the author was aware of the ever-increasing grey zone of peoples, Maya and Spanish, who wavered between conquering and conquered entities. The *Popul Vuh* acknowledged Spanish chronology and Mayan time-cycles, transcending both of them to tell an epic of rebellion and intransigence. It is what Prometheus might have written had his cosmic insurrection succeeded. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century though, following the collapse of Inquisitorial censorship, the *PV* could be read as literature, not as a series of prescriptive, diabolical and



pagan stories. The Frenchman Brasseur de Bourbourg's 1861 translation of the *Popul Vuh* was the first to place the epic in the context, if not the canon, of world literature.

It is logical that an ideologically objective (though stylistically Orientalist) approach to the *PV* first took place outside of the Hispanic orbit. Only there was it possible to escape the anti-indigenous racism that remained as strong in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as they had been during the Colony. Unfortunately, this bias has continued into the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, with colonial apologists claiming that the French or English speakers could not understand the indigenous mind, as though white Hispanic culture had somehow achieved, or cared to achieve, that feat. For the Maya, Hispanic presence was every bit as foreign as the French or the English. Realpolitik also played a role in French and English interest in Mayan texts. Their empires ascended as Spain declined, and victims of Spanish imperialism were obvious potential allies.

But Hispanism awoke sharper emotions among the Maya, as it veered between pro-indigenous positions and colonial condescension. Complicating matters further, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Latin American romanticist saw Cortes, Pizarro, Gonzalo Guerrero, Mayas, Incas and Aztecs as ingredients in the same stew, one that Frenchmen or Englishmen would never taste properly.<sup>73</sup> Given a long tradition of discrimination, exploitation, and in some cases (the conquests of the Montejo family in Yucatan, of Pedro and his brother Jorge de Alvarado in Quahquechollan, Guatemala, and of the massacres perpetrated by the Guatemalan army in the 1980s) outright ethnocide, it is doubtful how much Hispanic America “understood” the Maya. The word “Indio” continues to be used in racially insulting ways throughout contemporary

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<sup>73</sup> Ruben Dario in his poem “A Roosevelt” (123-4) posits a Hispanic-indigenous cultural continuum against a monolithic Anglo Saxon one. This is false romanticism, both from the perspective of unresolved societal tensions in Latin America and from the perspective of the many cultures—conquering and subaltern—that comprise the USA.

Latin America and in contemporary Spain, much like the expletive “Injun” in the American Southwest.<sup>74</sup>

J. Eric Thompson, Mayanist of the Cold War era, distorted the historical image of the Maya in accordance with a utopian fantasy of the Maya as a pacifist, stargazing society.<sup>75</sup> For Thompson, the Maya were abstract, gentle philosophers, incapable of any form of writing that was not pictographic. In his idealization of, and condescension toward, the Maya peoples, Thompson reflected the tendencies of 1950’s North American (and 19<sup>th</sup> century Latin American) academia. His dogmatism almost crushed the groundbreaking research of Tatiana Proskouriakoff and Valentin Knosorov. They had proved, by the mid-60s<sup>76</sup>, that Mayan hieroglyphs were both syllabic and phonetic. Challenging Thompson’s mystical misconceptions of the “peaceful” Maya, Mayan monumental inscriptions referred to dynastic enmities from El Salvador to Yucatan; to the foundational and violent theology that engendered the *Popul Vuh*; and to merciless, and endless, city-state infighting. Thompson admired Mayan astronomy, but ignored its connection with warfare: the moon’s eclipses and Venus’ phases were scoured to ascertain the most propitious time to devastate one’s neighboring city. Mayan glyphs told more of human rivalries than they did of gods and divine dictates. The latter were hardly mentioned, being as Maya princes did not need godly permission to kill their (largely Mayan) neighbors.

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<sup>74</sup> Recently North American Native peoples have vindicated the word “Indian”, as in the Native-run new (2004) Smithsonian Museum of the American Indian but “Injun” remains, like “Indio” a pejorative and disparaging term.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Coe in *Breaking the Maya Code* (116) states that: “Thompson made some tremendous discoveries...Nevertheless, his role in cracking the Maya script was an entirely negative one, as stultifying and wrong as had been Athanasius Kircher in holding back decipherment of ancient Egyptian for at least two centuries.”

<sup>76</sup> There was a definite sea-change in North American academia regarding the Maya in the post-Thompson phase, beginning with Eric Wolfe’s 1959 opus, *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. Wolfe allowed the contemporary Maya to add their own observations to his research, producing a more well-rounded view than Thompson’s fantasy vision.

After Thompson's imaginary mist lifted from Mayan studies in the 60's, archaeological research in conjunction with living Mayan communities showed them to have a history that, like their Spanish conquerors, boasted violence, regicide, and constant civil war. There had been no unified Maya people; like Europeans, they tore at each other's throats.<sup>77</sup> The third segment of the *Popul Vuh* told of the vicious cycle of warfare between different Mayan assemblages, and it was not symbolic. The hated figure of the idol Tohil, the initiator of human sacrifice, and the opposition that arose to him, smacks more of genuine fratricide than it does of legend. And Maya inter-tribal tensions would have influenced the dislike felt by the Creator Grandmother and her Xibalban daughter in law: marital alliances often solved nothing.

Thompson's romanticism was felt in the gentler, and soppiest, tone of translations of the *Popul Vuh*. Fortunately, Munro S. Edmundson's 1971 version avoided such sentimentalism, highlighting instead the technical perfection of Mayan verse in ways that Father Jiménez had been incapable of perceiving. Edmundson versified the *Popul Vuh* in exquisite English, linking his metrics to the symmetry of rhythm and meter in the original Quiche-Maya poetry.<sup>78</sup> One can criticize Edmundson for inserting the Mayan text too well within the conventions of English literature. That being said, his translation constitutes a huge contribution to the understanding of the literary arts, and the relationship between epics and written and declaimed poetry among the pre and post-Conquest Maya.

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<sup>77</sup> In 1977, David Webster wrote in "Warfare and the Evolution of Maya Civilization": "...there was comparatively little incentive to establish wide-scale political hegemony...supracenter political unification did occasionally occur...But such unification was on a very small scale and appears to be quite unstable..." (366).

<sup>78</sup> Edmundson's technique has been validated by Michael Carrasco and Kerry Hull of Wesleyan University, who wrote in 2004 that the versified couplet was an aspect of classical Mayan hieroglyphs. See: "Maya Literature and Poetics" on Wesleyan University's Maya research web pages.

Raynaud, Asturias and Mendoza offered a compact Spanish-language version in 2000 that avoided the flowery tonic that afflicted most previous versions of the *Popul Vuh*, but it had no indigenous contributions and its notes, while informative, were minimal. Dennis Tedlock's 1996 North American version, which owes a great deal to Edmundson's previous attempt, incorporated Mayan consultants and advisors as part of its methodology, enriching the non-Mayan reader with a well-explained world of Quiche-Maya symbolism.

As a result of his collaboration with living Mayans, Tedlock emphasized the astronomical basis<sup>79</sup> for many of events in the *Popul Vuh*. Mayan sky-calendars were, and are, an intrinsic part of the three-tiered Mayan universe. This is evident in the divisions of the text: the heavens, *Can*, with Creation; the underworld, *Xibalba*, where the Twins triumph in the second division; and our Middle World, *Uleew*, where we bounce back and forth between *Can* and *Xibalba*. The Twins' noisy game of rubber ball, which so irritates of the Lords of Xibalba, is the literary staging of a celestial event present in Mayan art, dating back more than 2,000 years: the ball represents the passage of Venus and/or the sun, across the heavens. Contemporary Mayan communities from Yucatan to Honduras concur in this interpretation, and Tedlock was wise to listen to them. Since planets and stars may alternately foretell war and peace, their allusion is key to understanding the *Popul Vuh*. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque-later the Sun and Moon, are astronomically provoking the Lords of Xibalba by the simple act of playing a (deadly) game.

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<sup>79</sup> The archaeological and anthropological fields in Mexico have proven themselves more open to the extra-literary associations of the Mayan texts than is the literary field, which insists so much on Barthe's "immanence of the text" that it ignores indigenous archaeology and history entirely. The many pre-Columbian sculptures of Hunahpu's head that feature a spondylus shell on his cheek, Mayan and Andean symbol of death and resurrection, demonstrate the connection between the colonial writings of the *Popul Vuh* and the continuum of Mayan history and tradition.

Bishop Diego de Landa, in Chapter XXXVIII of his *Relacion*, noted the image used by 16<sup>th</sup> century Yucatec Maya, the *kuch* or vulture perched atop a human cadaver, as an evil omen; centuries later, Thompson, who never mentioned Landa's observation, stressed the use of the word *kuch* as signifying desolation.<sup>80</sup> Thorough knowledge of Mayan languages was needed, for translations of the *PV*, or important allusions would be lost to the non-Maya reader. By translating directly from Quiche Maya to English, with the help of Quiche Maya speakers, Dennis Tedlock situated the *Popul Vuh* within the context of Mayan historical thought. By collaborating with Mayan shamans and teachers, he clarified the post-Conquest elements of the text from a Mayan perspective and in doing so, Tedlock authenticates the semantic continuity linking the text to Mayan philosophy.

A superb, on-line (2007) version by Allen Christenson, sponsored by FAMSI, (The Foundation for Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.) delved into the etymological references of Quiche-Maya expressions in the *Popul Vuh* and its relation to Mayan ceremony, supplementing Tedlock's anthropological knowledge with linguistic information. Following the trail of linguistic accuracy, in Spanish, the clearest translation is one done directly from Quiche Maya: Albertina Saravia and Rodrigo Guarchaj's 1996 edition. Published the same year as Tedlock, the freshness of its language, its simple and direct Spanish, was faithful to the Quiche-Maya original. The principal virtue of this bilingual version is a streamlined and humorous style that does not soften the sarcasm of the protagonists. After all, the Twins are heroes, and at the same time double-dealing tricksters. In Tedlock, Christenson, and Saravia and Guarchaj's editions, the *Popul Vuh* is enriched by with bibliographies that contextualize the work's connection with Mayan and colonial literature. These three editions of the *PV* allow

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<sup>80</sup> Thompson analyzes the word "*kuch*" in his study of the *Dresden Codex*, one of the only Mayan books to survive Landa's bonfire of the codices in 1562. The *Dresden Codex* dates to 12<sup>th</sup> century Yucatan, and the continuity between the 12<sup>th</sup> century verbal definition and Landa's 16<sup>th</sup> century pictorial observation is clear.

the reader, however distanced from the indigenous cosmology, to approach the epic and its teachings on an individual level. The Twins' struggle is every human being's struggle to contend with difficulty, and Xibalba, the place of fear, (one's personal hell) is wherever the individual imagines it to be.

Individual imagination played a preponderant role in the translation of the *Manuscrito de los dioses y hombres de Huarochiri* completed by Jose Maria Arguedas, in consultation with Pierre Duviols, in the politically volatile Lima of 1966. Arguedas was a great writer and a sincere champion of the indigenous cause in a Peru which, at that juncture, did not render, to its own civilizations the type of lip-service given by Mexico to its Aztec past. Arguedas knew well the modern Quechua of central Peru, but his knowledge of colonial Quechua was deficient, and the environment in which he worked very hostile to Native aspirations. The type of indigenous collaboration later enjoyed by Tedlock was inconceivable for Arguedas, who is to be commended for his valiant, and ultimately successful, attempt to place *Huarochiri* firmly within the Canon of Peruvian and world literature. However faulty, Arguedas' translation reverberated beyond literature into the sphere of indigenous political rights.

The great translations of *Huarochiri* were accomplished by Gerald Taylor (Quechua-Spanish) and Jorge Urioste (Quechua-English), who, following the research of Alfredo Torero,<sup>81</sup> differentiated clearly between the variants of Quechua (Northern, Central and Southern) that converged in the area around Lima, an area which extended to the Lurin valley and the villages, or *llactas*, mentioned in the *HM*. Taylor refined his 1987 translation in his re-edition of 2008, and it remains the most complete Spanish-Quechua edition available. Jorge Urioste's 1996 translation, on which Frank Salomon based his English translation, is

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<sup>81</sup> Alfredo Torero's research on the different varieties of Quechua clarified the unusual nature of *Huarochiri's* text, which, in Torero's opinion, maintains a sub-stratum of Aru, the possible mother tongue of the Yauyo people. There is some speculation that the Yunca language was related to the Moche Indian tongue.

considered the gold standard by Peruvian linguists, such as Rodolfo Cerron Palomino, and it forms the basis for my analysis in this thesis. It stresses the stylistic humor of the male-female dialogues, something missing from Gerald Taylor's otherwise comprehensive work. (Taylor caught the sexual references, but missed the humor).

Arguedas' translation was recently reissued in 2009 by the University Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, with much-needed commentary explaining the social conditions surrounding Arguedas' original conception. That author's tendency to conceptualize the Yunca/Yauyo myths in accordance with his perception of "Andean melancholy"<sup>82</sup> mars the translation, although Arguedas' perspective was entirely understandable in light of the Andeans' political plight. Still, Arguedas' projected "melancholy" eliminated one of the most captivating qualities in the *HM* and one of the most representative qualities in oral and written Andean literature: its bawdy sensual humor. Arguedas had inherited a post-conquest Andean vision in which sexuality was relegated to an obscure and sinful corner, and this may have impacted the complete absence of a prominent sexual element, evident in Urioste's translation of the *Manuscript*. As Frank Salomon confirms, the text's humor includes erotic word games<sup>83</sup> of sophisticated double meaning, evoking a jocose and enjoyable sexuality for men and women.

This humorous sexuality is absent in Arguedas, as it was in all translations prior to Gerald Taylor, and even more so, prior to Jorge Urioste. When Arguedas described the five-armed fertility goddess Chaupi Namca, he did so in cold and clinical terms. When Markham recreated the hilarious scene between a sex-starved Paria Caca and a frigid Choque Sosa, the

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<sup>82</sup> Arguedas witnessed firsthand the extremely harsh discrimination which Peru's Native peoples endured in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and it shaped his viewpoint in literature and in life.

<sup>83</sup> Salomon and Urioste 15. In his introduction, Salomon observes that the dominant agricultural motif of *Huarochiri* is a combination of masculine running water and feminine firm earth, forming a constant and humorous sexual metaphor. While not as expressive as Jorge Urioste's translation, Gerald Taylor also includes the eroticism.

sex becomes love, whereas in the Andean text it is represented by the word *punyun* which is simply mutual sex. There is no mention of the term *munay*, the term for heart feeling so common in Andean love poems. By transforming Paria Caca's venial feelings into something more elevated, the text is left sanitized and entirely humorless. Meanwhile, individual episodes of *Huarochiri* have circulated in both Spanish and English, thanks to compendiums produced by Bolivian journalist Jesus Lara and American folklorist John William Bierhorst. The latter carefully introduced some of the less ribald stories to children's literature.<sup>84</sup>

Jorge Urioste's translation provides the richest analysis of the polyvalence of Quechua speech, which allowed Salomon to enhance the text with historical references to these many meanings. Urioste's extensive glossary dispels much confusion regarding *Huarochiri*'s dialogues. The word *camac*, for example, is popularly translated from Quechua as "create." But it is defined more precisely as "to animate with the force of life," which implies a previous and incomplete creation<sup>85</sup>, as when Viracocha constructs inanimate rocks on the shores of Titicaca and then later infuses them with life. Pachacamac, the telluric Yunca earth-god and supporting actor in *Huarochiri*, may be an avatar of Viracocha, but he is certainly not the *sole* Creator, although colonial era writers, such as Garcilaso el Inca, tried hard to make Pachacamac fit the role of a unitary Maker.<sup>86</sup> Urioste's efforts to be as exact as possible, as

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<sup>84</sup> In Bierhorst's book *Black Rainbow: Legends of the Incas and Myths of Ancient Peru*, he retells Chapter 23 of *Huarochiri* and the emperor Tupac Yupanqui's temper tantrum before his unhelpful deities in the child's narrative "The Storm" (37-41) and retold the legend of emperor Huayna Capac and his miniature lady-love in "The Vanishing Bride" (42-44). The stories of Conirraya Viracocha's pursuit of Cavillaca, censored with delicacy, also appear.

<sup>85</sup> Salomon and Urioste 16. Pachacamac, the Yunca god who was adopted and exalted by the Incas, according to chronicler Cieza de Leon in *El senorio de los Incas* (Ballesteros 102-3) was subsequently interpreted as the Andean Creator god, but that function often is split, in a nebulous manner, with Conirraya Viracocha.

<sup>86</sup> Viracocha in Andean tradition is often described as "making" or "giving form" to Creation, which may imply a perfecting of brute material already at hand. The Maya have a similar implied division of Divine Labor, with



opposed to finding comforting equivalents a la Garcilaso, illustrate the complexity of Andean cosmology. This enables the Western reader to understand the hierarchy of concepts in Andean thought on their own terms, one that reflects, to a degree, the Incan-Andean hierarchy of ethnic relations.

The definitive version of *Huarochiri* in Spanish is that of Gerald Taylor, first published in 1987 and revised in 2008. Taylor's text was a necessary prerequisite for Urioste's work, a fact recognized by both Urioste and his colleague Frank Salomon. Taylor leaves intact the blank spaces and broken continuities inherent in the transition from one language, (Quechua) to a non-related one (Spanish). Rather than aspiring to an impossible perfect translation, Taylor's *Huarochiri* clarifies the translator's ambivalence, as he confronts the deficit of acceptable equivalents in Spanish and Quechua. Writing in a secular Western society and not in the heavy-handed religiosity of the Counter-reformation, Taylor, unlike Garcilaso el Inca, leaves conflictive meanings alone. Additionally, he underlines verbal elements neglected by earlier translations. (Dennis Tedlock also allowed multiple meanings to coexist in his translation of the *Popul Vuh*, insofar as relates to Mayan astronomy in the text). Taylor stressed the three pronged nature of official testimony-report-personal account which, as time and narrative markers, is intrinsic to the development of the fragmented *HM* narrative. The mythical episodes and historical events are reported in differently: some transmitted by eye-witnesses, some as retold older traditions and some as second-hand gossip. Taylor did well to note that these markers are not some trivial stylistic element, but vestiges/reminiscences of a lost and more ancient Andean oral tradition. By cataloguing the different brands of testimony presented in the Quechua of the *HM*, Taylor perpetuates elements of spoken Andean narrative

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*Tzakol* and *Bitol*, the Creator and the Designer, both present at the birth of the Universe, according to the *Popul Vuh*.

in its transition to the printed page. The problematic character of that transition is felt in the interplay of markers, whose significance is not always comprehensible to the Western reader, yet would be grasped by the Andean author, whose use of these markers is deliberate and constant.

It was in English rather than in Spanish that *Huarochiri* was best known till well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, owing in part to a powerful current of Peruvian-based “exoticism” which took hold of the London Geographical Society in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. This encompassed the fantasies of lost cities in the jungle, and South America, together with Central America, was seen as an inexhaustible mystery trove.<sup>87</sup> (One of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s archaeological vandals, Alfred Maudslay, carved out the sacred lintels of the Mayan city Yaxchilan in Chiapas with a knife, and sent these depictions of the Vision Serpent and the Mayan queen directly to the British Museum). Clements Markham, illicit rubber entrepreneur and gentleman adventurer, rewrote the venial gods of *Huarochiri* (1873) in terms acceptable to British Victorian aristocracy, eliminating the sexual insinuations in the Quechua original. Hermann Trimborn’s 1939 translation, and his 1967 updating of it, from Quechua to German is still respected for its rigor and accuracy, though any linguistic analysis of it remains beyond the bounds of this thesis.

### 1.7 Testing Levi-Strauss’ Equation: The Interchangeable Natures of Politics and Mythology

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<sup>87</sup> Other examples of this obsession with exoticism are William Henry Hudson’s *Green Mansions*, which romanticized Incan origins but savaged Amazonian ones, as the Incas themselves were wont to do. As late as 1958, Michael Bond’s *A Bear Called Paddington* (London: William Collins and Sons) exemplified the literary ideal of Peru as a romanticized, (if endearing) oneiric homeland in British children’s literature.

The subtleties of Mayan and Andean thought did not concern Jiménez and Avila. The idea was to uncover what they conceived as idolatry and to extirpate it,<sup>88</sup> since counter-reformation priests could perceive of no variant on monotheism. Mayan ideas of divine emanations of time, such as *Katun Ahau*, (“Lords of the Days”) were seen as diabolical, despite Maya fealty, noted even by Landa, to *Itzamna*,<sup>89</sup> the Supreme God. Itzamna was a quadripartite deity, embodying the four cardinal points of the Universe, spinning the interlocking fifty-two year cycles of Mayan years.<sup>90</sup> The *Katun Ahau*, cycles of approximately twenty years, were incarnated in these periods in the concurrent solar and lunar Mayan calendars. Their immense projections into future and past time were sanctified and personalized images of recurrent, sacred time,<sup>91</sup> governed by these Lords of the Days.

Andeans too had little issue with the multiple nature of any god, as seen by the quintuple emanations of Paria Caca, or, in the case of the Incas, different personifications of the Sun as *Punchao* or *Inti*, depending on the sun’s “age” or strength during the seasonal year. The planting calendar of the Andes, which began in our month of December, when the Southern Hemisphere’s sun climbs to its zenith, was replicated by the *ceques*, markers on the telluric lines that emanated from Cuzco and followed the phases of the astral bodies in relation to farming seasons. That calendar too was demolished for its “pagan” associations, though it is

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<sup>88</sup> Avila was outright exploitative to his Andean parishioners; Jiménez was considerably more low-key but upheld the unfair agricultural distribution which had caused the Maya to revolt prior to his arrival.

<sup>89</sup> Itzamna was pictured as an elderly scribe, giving primacy to the Mayan concept of *than*, or “word.” Like the Andean Viracocha, Itzamna must enunciate Creation before willing the Universe into being.

<sup>90</sup> Freidel, Schele et al remark, in *El Cosmos Maya*, that the Trinitarian concept of God would have been easily assimilated by the Mayan peasant, well accustomed to the quadripartite nature of the Supreme Deity Itzamna (1999, 46). It is possible that the transition to Catholicism was seen as another chapter in Mayan religion, absorbing it.

<sup>91</sup> David Stuart noted in 2011: “Each of these 20-year ages in the past and in the future had their own identity and historical character, or, as Avendano put it (1695), ‘each age has its own particular idol and its own priest, with a particular prophecy of events.’ This cyclical system of time gave rise to the idea that history was forever based on familiar recurring patterns” (*The Order of Days* 20).

doubtful that Andeans viewed the “ceques” as anything other than landmarks. But since landmarks were “huacas” and huacas were sacred, the landscape of Peru itself had become heretical.

For the Aztecs, “teotl” represented personalized natural energy. The word was translated by missionaries as “god,”<sup>92</sup> entranced as they were with similarity between the Nahua “teo” and the Greek “teo,” as well as with their equivalent meanings. This proved fortuitous for the Conquistadors. The Aztec war-god Huitzilopochtli was ever-hungry for human hearts, so Cortes’ bloody behavior (in the full-scale Cholula massacre) deepened his identification with the Aztec supreme god. But the Mayan conception of Deity boasted more similarities with classic Catholic theology, making it harder for the Crown to claim that said Indians were in need of a religious crusade.<sup>93</sup> Mayans worshipped a Supreme Deity who manifested himself in four avatars: Itzamna could be seen as the union of the four *bacabs* or standard bearers who upheld the Universe. The distance from that to the Trinity was not so far; and the Maya did not and do not draw irremediable lines between monotheism and polytheism (seen as irreconcilable from a Western/Islamic perspective). The problem during the Conquest, and now, lies in how concepts of God/gods were used in the service of political tyranny, and not in the actual beliefs.

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<sup>92</sup> Stuart 71: “*Teotl* more correctly refers to a sacred and impersonal force or concentration of power, rather similar to the well-known concept of *mana* in Polynesia.” Nonetheless, the Aztecs personalized each force, giving it name, history, idols and sacrificial altars.

<sup>93</sup> This point was not lost on Las Casas, who upheld the ban on entry of Spanish soldiers in the Kekchi Maya territory, the so-called *Tierra de Guerra*, believing that the Maya constituted better Christians than did white men.

The Andes confounded the theologians of the Conquest with another quandary, seeing as Andean “polytheism” was not easily grasped by the Early Modern mentality: Andean theology was often immaterial, and more abstract than European Christianity. Padre Acosta noted that Andean non-material idolatry was morally superior to the idols of Aztecs or Egyptians (and of course, votive objects of Europeans were excluded from the discussion). The Early Modern mentality in Europe conceived of first hand visual testimony as irrefutable, and God was conceived of in Spanish territory in innately physical terms. Unlike Aztecs or Europeans the Andeans did not invest great energy in the construction of votive statues, so their theological “error” was more difficult to detect. Since Andeans viewed the entire earth as the manifestation of sacred forces, the Conquest in Peru sometimes came to a theological dead end. The only way to defeat Andean pagans would be to destroy the entire natural world.

Jose de Acosta claimed, at the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that Andeans preferred to consecrate natural phenomena and geographical space more than they did the human or godly image,<sup>94</sup> but if Padre Acosta had better comprehended the connection between sacred natural space, the *huaca*, and the Quechua verb *camay*, he would have been more uncomfortable with Andean belief than he was. There was no need for votive statues as such when the natural world, living, dead, and regenerating, overflowed with sacred *huaca* presences. But these huacas, these physical/geological formations, could become animated and personalized when imbued with the spiritual essence that animates life, our previously mentioned *camay*<sup>95</sup> verb,

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<sup>94</sup> In Volume II, Book V, Chapter II of Acosta’s *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, Acosta specifically equates Andean idolatry with natural phenomena, as opposed to imagined entities (Ingles, Ed.1894, 5). While Acosta was referring more to the Inca, his observation is doubly relevant for the Yuncas and Yauyos of the Huarochiri region, whose worship centered on holy geological phenomena, the *huacas* that preceded Inca belief by millennium.

<sup>95</sup> Salomon and Urioste 16: “...*camay* is a continuous act that works upon being as long as it exists...All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its

well deciphered by Gerald Taylor. The mountains in Huarochiri were not as depersonalized as Acosta imagined; they were sleeping deities. Their names were, and are, Paria Caca and Huallallo, as visitors to the Lurin valley know. The Andean did not pray to huacas in the Western sense, nor did the Maya request boons of the *Katun Ahau*, the Lord of Time who ruled the cycle that he/she lived through. The relationship with the Divine was not that of Superior and penitential supplicant; the Katun Ahau and the huaca were revered as multiple aspects of a power that united all life, a unity that the shamanic initiate perceives. One could never be cast out of God's presence, as one could in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions, with their ceremonies of excommunication. Divinity was everywhere, in Xibalba no less than on Paria Caca's mountain.

Post-Trent churches and the Aztec, and to a lesser degree the Inca, maintained statues of their temples, (although Inca statues were often sculptural representations of the ruling sovereign, his stone "haoqui" or twin, more than they represented Inca deities). How then could the Conquest assimilate the fact that the Maya, every 52 years, smashed all their sacred items, including their idols, as their solar and lunar calendars locked wheels and crashed in cosmic time? By the same token, how did the extirpators of "idolatry" in the Andes react when, following the demolition of original huaca sites, Andeans, as they did with the oracle Catequil's statue in Ecuador, simply reconstructed other sacred sites using the remains of the smashed stones? These are the defiant attitudes which explain the conduct of the personages in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, as we shall see.

The anonymous authors of both epics did not prostrate themselves at the feet of divinity. They refused to take gods seriously, either their own or anyone else's deities. The

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*huaca* of origin." These huacas could never be definitively destroyed, as any other part of nature could substitute for it.

narrative guiding light of these myths and parables does not and never will jibe with Western or Islamic sacred texts: Abrahamic religions teach their followers to love God, but also to fear Him. Andeans and Mayans dislike Him/Them/Her, and make no secret of their disdain, as my subsequent chapters will demonstrate. Even in the most defective translations, to paraphrase Levi-Strauss, the message remains. And it is rebellion.

While it took a while for the esthetic form of the translations to match the clarity and unambiguity of the message in the two texts, the fortuitous collaboration of anthropologists and native Quechua and Quiche Maya speakers, as evidenced in Gerald Taylor's or Frank Salomon's *Huarochiri*, and in Dennis Tedlock's *Popul Vuh*, has borne fruit for the Western reader. Along with the texts' incendiary leanings, the ironic, sarcastic, and frequently burlesque tone of the books is now palpable in their literary styles, matching and enhancing their message. The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* are rooted in indigenous American humor, a powerful weapon in trying times. To wield that weapon, we must rid ourselves of two brands of stereotypes: the Eurocentric and colonialist one, which downplays indigenous contributions due to ignorance and racial bias; and the filo-Nativism which romanticizes and idealizes the "noble savage."

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* are neither. Now that we can hear these indigenous voices, we should pay close attention to the scathing laughter that accompanies the call to insurrection. The following chapters will trace this call in the narratives of the two texts.

## ***Chapter 2: Myth as a Cosmic Weapon; Questioning the Gods***

## 2.1 The Female Principle: *Ixq'iq* and *Cavillaca*: Physical and Philosophical Genesis of the Cosmology

The unholy rebellion of the *Popul Vuh* and the *Manuscrito de Huarochiri* is not delineated in the linear sense of monotheistic narratives, where gods and prophets are ordered chronologically. They have no possibility of a time-line. Ideological continuity is evident, however, throughout both of these texts, and the ideology is so blatant that one wonders whether colonial censors were oblivious to the pre-Colombian content, and the sarcastic tone, of the Mayan and Andean accounts.

It is unclear how much colonial censors had studied the Mayan ceramics that Fray Diego de Landa y Calderon incinerated in the Mani auto-da-fe of July 12, 1562. If they were able to glean anything at all, they would have been appalled by the Mayan attitude towards political power. On their painted and fired ceramics there figured “a sort of third soul or spirit familiar, possessed only by rulers and powerful men of Maya society, which left their body at night in order to cause sickness and death.”<sup>96</sup> That “spirit familiar,” the dreaded *way* spirit, protruded from the royal body as a noxious serpent, a physical embodiment of the leader’s intentions. In their artwork, the Maya had doubted the benevolence of their own overlords. Their hostility towards the Spanish regime was therefore a continuation of the distrust the Maya directed towards any sort of centralized power.

Submission and obedience were the hallmarks of Wari and Inca empires, but apart from them, skepticism ran up and down the mountainous spine of the Americas. The extirpation of Andean “idolatries” meant that colonial censors classified the regions’ belief systems into one indistinguishable lump, while their statues of metal and wood were melted down by Spain

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<sup>96</sup> Velazquez Garcia, Erik. “Reflections on the Codex Style and the Princeton Vessel” *The PARI Journal* 2009, 5.



to form ever heavier blocks of “Inca” treasure. Not all the peoples of Peru were Incas, and the Incas were not uniformly revered by their subjects. Other Andeans definitively did NOT hold them in awe. R.T. Zuidema notes (279): “.... in the myths of Huarochiri, located near the coast, Viracocha and his son Paria Caca appear to be more powerful than the Inca emperor and Huallallo Carhuinchi; that is to say, that the coastal peoples did not recognize, at least in religious issues, any sort of superiority of the mountain peoples.” [My translation]. Not deferring to the Incas in matters of religiosity meant questioning Inca domination, and with it the cult of the Sun that justified Inca conquests. Questioning power augured ill for the Incas, or for any empire that would replace them. On this note, *Huarochiri*’s Yunca people were described as shockingly irreligious for the 16<sup>th</sup> century imperial mentality: “Even so, before the Incas came, the Yunga treated matters of religion somewhat casually. As Fray Cristobal de Castro and his colleague Diego de Morejon were told, the Yunga did not adore the sun but the huacas, and not all of them but only those who responded and this not always but only when they had need of them” (MacCormack. *Religion in the Andes* 155).

Since the obstreperous strains of Mayan and Andean non-Incan cultures are present throughout the two epics, reflecting their historical realities, both can be scrutinized for ideological content. This is what Chapter 2 will do. The structure that I have imposed on the various episodes of the *HM* and the *PV* reflect a triple axiological commonality: 1) rejection of arbitrary authority, 2) rejection of political terror, and 3) rejection of human sacrifice. The cycles of the Hero Twins and Paria Caca exemplify these tenets, but are preceded by the women who lay the groundwork for their rebellion. The *PV* and the *HM* acknowledge, as other scriptures do not, that Woman came first.

In the 1990's, Dennis Tedlock noted the pivotal role played by women in the *Popul Vuh*. The patrilineal heads of Mayan villages, known as "mother-fathers," are designated to protect the human beings created by Grandmother Ixmucane. Ixmucane is the matriarch who raises the obstreperous Twins, who will in turn vanquish the Lords of Death.<sup>97</sup> While her grandchildren fight, Ixmucane stands vigil over the cornstalks in her house, the withering and flowering mark the Twins' fluctuation in Xibalba. This established the custom "whereby humans keep consecrated ears in the house, at the center of the stored harvest," which determine the markers of Mayan time. On the Andean front, Frank Salomon observed female initiative in the untrammelled sexuality of the goddess Chaupi Namca, (among others), in *Huarochiri*. More recently, J. Yanez Del Pozo (2002) defended a certain female superiority pervading the entire *Huarochiri* text.<sup>98</sup> While women do not occupy the lion's share of the stories in either case, they set the tone that presages the intransigence, stubbornness, and flat-out rebellion inherent in the male behavior that the texts describe. I will expand upon the observations of Tedlock, Salomon, and Del Pozo by comparing two female actors in these epics: Ixq'iq, or Lady Blood Moon in the *Popul Vuh*, and Cavillaca, an early Andean water goddess of seas and lakes, in *Huarochiri*.

Cavillaca and Ixq'iq are two females locked in confrontation with male gods. Placing their own will above the masculine, these goddesses determine the fate of their descendants. Spatially speaking, Ixq'iq arises from the depths of the Xibalban netherworld to live in our Middle World, (*Kaj-Uleew*, the union of sky and earth). In the process, she becomes the progenitor of Hero Twins and of all Humanity, since it is through the Twins' metamorphosis as

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<sup>97</sup> Dennis Tedlock elaborates upon this in his *PV* Introduction, 43-4. Quote p. 43.

<sup>98</sup> Yanez del Pozo (2002) speaks of the female protagonists in the *MH* as preceding the male ones and being, "in a certain sense, superior to them" since the woman was in fact the first prototype. (*Yanantin* 116)

Sun and Moon whereby Humanity obtains the light needed to survive. Ixqiq's anti-authoritarian tone is upheld by her progeny, who repudiate their Xibalban forbears. Seen in the context of Mesoamerican lore, the Twins' apotheosis countered the tragic Aztec/Toltec vision. The latter presented the Sun and Moon as the embodiments of two lesser deities, Teucciztecatl and Nanahuatzin,<sup>99</sup> who immolated themselves on the celestial funeral pyre in Teotihuacan so that the universe would be sustained by their blood. In Mayan thought, the sun and moon represent rejoicing victory. In Aztec thought, they are reminders of the grim sacrificial debt to the Cosmos.

Spatially, Cavillaca's road is the reverse of Ixqiq's. The Andean goddess eschews the Middle World, (*Kay Pacha*), in which she herself is a huaca, a sacred being, and descends to the depths of the sea. Waters are the source of all life, and by submerging herself, Cavillaca performs an upside-down parody of the trail taken by her suitor, Viracocha, who arose from the water in the South: "...a resplendent sun arose from the islands of Titicaca..." (Rita Fink. *Eventos Solares* 15). [my translation]. Cavillaca plumbs the ocean to escape a man she does not love, but in no way is this a metaphor for drowning, or punishment for having contravened the gods. Cavillaca becomes deified above Conirraya in the Andean topography by flouting his ardor.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> The eagle and the jaguar form part of the Aztec self-sacrifice, following the actions of Nanahuatzin and Teucciztecatl. The eagle will be ever after identified with the sun for the Aztecs. What matters here is that the jaguar, associated with the moon, is the most sacred animal to the Maya. The pomposity of the Mexican valley solar cult is downplayed, and the lunar jaguar, the night sun/moon Ixbalaamque, is exalted. (Re: Mercedes Monte de Oca Vega, Jose Alcina Franch, etc).

<sup>100</sup> William Torres has commented (2000) on the connection between the huaca and physical transformation. Torres cites transformation into or near bodies of water as punishment for violating a religious norm, as in the Ecuadorian folktale of Nina Pacha, a young girl punished, transformed into a lake, for evading her fate as a human sacrifice. Cavillaca, however, remains in control of her own destiny and her own transformation, tormenting her would-be captor forever after from her marine vantage point. See Torres article in: <http://www.banrep.gov.co/museo/boletin>

Ixqiq, daughter of the Underworld, comes up from Hell, trading her immortal status for a more finite one in the pre-human Middle World. She bears the Hero Twins of a supernatural forbear: the head of 1-Hunahpu. Their status as gods and/or men is undefined, a shamanic reminder that one partakes of different existences at the same time. Their deeds enable Humanity to endure despite the continued, if diminished, presence of the Xibalbans. Cavillaca, by contrast with the ascending Ixqiq, dives into the watery Andean world of the ancestors after having borne the offspring of a trickster god-Conirraya Viracocha. His “seed” (progeny) will not merge with any human element in our Kay Pacha, because the child is consecrated as a huaca before becoming sexually mature. (“Seed” is one of the definitions of the Andean word for “lake, body of water” or *cocha*).<sup>101</sup> Cavillaca, like Ixqiq, traverses the boundaries of earth and underworld, though she chooses the opposite direction. By rejecting masculine coercion, they stand the universe on its patriarchal head.

Neither Ixqiq nor Cavillaca beg to be rescued by any Prince Charming, unlike helpless Daphne fleeing leering Apollo. The women choose to raise their children in solitude, sans male spouse: Ixqiq in the Middle World, and Cavillaca in the oceans of the Pacific, in the waters where life itself commences. Both episodes signal a social structure in Mayan and Andean societies in which women could assume the provider role.<sup>102</sup> Ixqiq and Cavillaca are fascinating alternative templates for feminine behavior in the indigenous cultures that dreamed them up. Ixqiq evades her sentence of death by sacrifice at the behest of her father, the Lord

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<sup>101</sup> Torres 2000.

<sup>102</sup> Alana Cordy Collins, in her article “Blood and the Moon Priestesses...” (*Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru* 42-46) notes similarities between non-Incan Andean theocratic castes and those of the Classic Period Maya, whose ritual complexes included prominent female priestesses. In the case of the Moche of Peru, the female priestesses were represented by an owl, a fact that, in my opinion, suggests interesting intellectual parallels with Ixqiq, saved by the Xibalban owls.

Cuchuma'kik, a Roman-like example of merciless paternal authority,<sup>103</sup> for having become pregnant out of wedlock. Cavillaca escapes being affianced to a man/god that she does not desire, Conirraya. Her child does not need the god's parental recognition, and Cavillaca does not need the god's marital legitimacy.

These female protagonists' sexuality was unconventional, as were their social choices. Ixqiq experienced sensuality with one who had passed into the realm of the dead; Cavillaca swallowed the semen of a god-turned-bird who infused his virility into a plant. We read in *HM* Salomon and Urioste, Chap. 2, 46-7: "Once this woman, who had never allowed any male to fondle her, was weaving beneath a lucuma tree. Cuni Raya, in his cleverness, turned himself into a bird and climbed into the lucuma. He put his semen into a fruit that has ripened there and dropped it next to the woman. The woman swallowed it down delightedly. Thus she got pregnant even though she remained untouched by man."

Weaving is an Andean metaphor for the clothes that mark our rites of passage. Birth, the first of those rites, is foreshadowed by Cavillaca's activity.<sup>104</sup> Both women lost their virginity without experiencing the pleasures of physical sex, a possible nod to female frustration in ritualized matrimony, but neither Ixqiq nor Cavillaca are embarrassed by their deflowered status.

Ixqiq insists that she has committed no error, since she is with child by one whose face she does not know. "She answers that 'there is no man whose face I've known,' which is literally true" (*PV* Tedlock 37). True enough. Lady Blood Moon glimpsed her lover's skull once, fleetingly. (*Blood Moon* is the definition of Ixqiq's name, another irony as her father,

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<sup>103</sup> In ancient Rome, fathers exercised the power of life and death over their offspring, male and female.

<sup>104</sup> Victoria Solanilla Demetre's article, "El rol de las tejedoras precolombinas a traves de las fuentes e imágenes" in enumerates the function of weaving as a recordatory act of major life transitions. (Maynez and Reynoso. *El mundo indigena desde la perspectiva actual* 84-97)

Cuchuma'kik, is responsible for spreading sickness through blood disease). Meanwhile, a year after the birth of her child, Cavillaca throws a banquet to which godly (huaca) and holy human (villca) suitors are invited, in order to discover the child's father: "This gathering took place at Anchi Cocha, where the woman lived...When all the huacas and villcas had taken their seats there, the woman addressed them: Behold, gentlemen and lords. Acknowledge this child. Which of you made me pregnant? One by one she asked each of them: 'Was it you? Was it you?' But nobody answered, 'This child is mine.'" (HM Salomon and Urioste 2, 47):

Ixqiq received the spittle in her left palm, tossed by the seductive, fleshless skull of Hunahpu-1, the sacrificed predecessor of the Hero Twins. The older of them would bear his name. The spittle impregnates Ixqiq instantly, though she remains unaware of her pregnancy, despite her amorous contact with the Dead. As for Cavillaca, she innocently ate of the fruit of the lucum tree while she continued to spurn all of her (mortal and immortal) male suitors. The fertility of the lucum fruit, infused with the sperm of the god Conirraya Viracocha, penetrated Cavillaca's body, absorbed with neither knowledge nor consent. In comparison with Cavillaca, Ixqiq's loss of virginity is more intentional. She approached the hanging skull on her own initiative, and speaks to it in a blunt and humorous sexual dialogue:

Next, she went all alone and arrived where the tree stood. It stood at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice. 'What? Well! What's the fruit of this tree? Shouldn't this tree bear something sweet? They shouldn't die, they shouldn't be wasted. Should I pick one?' said the maiden. And then the bone spoke; it was here in the fork of the tree: 'Why do you want a mere bone, a round thing in the branches of a tree?' said the head of One Hunahpu when it spoke to the maiden. 'You don't want it,' she was told. *'I do want it,' said the maiden.* 'Very well. Stretch out your right hand here, so I can see it,' said the bone. And then the bone spit out its saliva, which landed squarely in the hand of the maiden. And then she looked in her hand, she inspected it right away, but the bone's saliva wasn't in her hand. (PV Tedlock 98-9). [Italics mine].

Worlds away from Ixqiq, Cavillaca, pursued by gods and men alike, finds herself a mother while never having engaged in a courtship. At the outset, Cavillaca is more of a victim of destiny than Ixqiq, although neither of them remains in the victim role for long. Among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, a parallel with Cavillaca is found in the mother of Raven, the totemic shape-shifter who brings light to humanity, absconding with the sun from the home of the Sky-Chief. Before his grand theft, Raven impregnates the Sky-Chief's daughter in the form of a pine needle, which she, like Cavillaca, unknowingly ingests while seated under a tree, after it falls into her bowl of water.<sup>105</sup>

Although the motif of a Virgin Birth is common to many cultures in the Old and New Worlds, the responses of Ixqiq and Cavillaca to their changed circumstances are uncharacteristic of the resignation shown by most female protagonists in similar narrative configurations. These two thwart the fate that their cultures decree for them (Ixqiq to be sacrificed, Cavillaca to submit to the god's authority) by embarking upon their own odysseys. They achieve liberation through the act of displacement, of physical removal from their point of origin. One rises up from Hell; one descends to the watery Underworld. By flouting patriarchal law, Ixqiq avoids becoming an expiatory sacrifice and Cavillaca avoids becoming a bound wife. They free themselves of subservience. Here is a world in which the sacred can be remade in accordance with female will.

Their victories are hard-won. When Ixqiq's father Cuchuma'kik becomes aware of her pregnancy, he confronts her directly. Enraged by his daughter's ambiguous answers and lack of contrition, Cuchuma'kik vows to slaughter her. "Very well. It really is a bastard you carry!

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<sup>105</sup> The rebelliousness inherent in the myth of Raven, common among the Salish Indian peoples, is one that Mayan and Andean storytellers would enjoy. The young virgin impregnated here receives another twist when Raven, after his impregnation of the Sky-Chief's daughter, is subsequently born to her as her son! (Re: Gerald McDermott 2001: *Raven-A Trickster Tale from the Pacific Northwest*).

Take her away for sacrifice, you Military Keepers of the Mat.<sup>106</sup> Bring back her heart in a bowl, so the lords can take it in their hands this very day...” (PV Tedlock 100). Incensed, the Lords of Xibalba decry Ixqiq’s daring union with the skull of One Hunahpu in the Calabash Tree. “ ‘This daughter of mine is with child, lords. It’s just a bastard,’ Blood Gatherer said when he joined the lords. ‘Very well. Get her to open her mouth. If she doesn’t tell, then sacrifice her. Go far away and sacrifice her’” (PV Tedlock 99).

One Hunahpu’s hanging skull was the prop that embodied the terror of sacrifice. Dangling in a tree, it was designated by the Xibalbans to be a deterrent to anyone foolish enough to disobey their dictates, and so Cuchuma’kik humiliated by his daughter in a violation of chastity, wished to apply it to Ixqiq. But she goes from bad to worse: after sexual illicitness, she transgresses the most fundamental tradition of the Xibalban underworld: the institution of human sacrifice. Her consorting with the skull of One Hunahpu expresses empathy with the sacrificial victim. Condemned to death, Ixqiq, negates the tragic fatalism evident in earlier Mayan thought and later Aztec theology. She organizes a revolt.

Lady Blood Moon arises from Xibalba, and never returns. She makes a pact with the messengers destined to sacrifice her: the *tukur*, the owls whose lugubrious presence evoked the presence of the Lords of Xibalba. J. Eric Thompson differentiated between this type of owl and the *muan*, the Yucatec barn owl, not linked directly, as is the *tukur*, with the Lords of the Underworld<sup>107</sup>. The *tukur* was an emblem of Xibalba, yet Ixqiq’s persuasion renders him her co-conspirator. Determined to avoid the sacrificial knife, Ixqiq senses the ambivalence of her

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<sup>106</sup> The mat in most Mayan languages is *pop*, signifying the council given and taken by Mayan lords when they sat with their subjects on the jaguar-skin rugs/mats.

<sup>107</sup> Thompson notes that while the *muan* owl usually poses on the celestial bands in Mayan hieroglyphics, his meaning among the living Maya was negative. They refer to the bird disparagingly as *ah Coo ti Akab*, literally, “the crazy one of the darkness.” (Thompson 137) and equate it symbolically with evil and heavenly punishment. The *tukur* of the *Popul Vuh* and the *muan* owl are now somewhat interchangeable in contemporary Mayan writing.



avian executioners; the tukurs' function as augurs of death is not to their liking, but it remains for this daughter of Xibalba to grant them a voice, and the choice to exercise free will. Once given that choice, the owls too choose insurrection, thereby saving Ixqiq's life. But they still need forged evidence to allay Xibalban suspicion: "So please stop: don't do your sacrifice, messengers,' said the maiden. Then they talked: 'What are we going to use in place of her heart? We were told by her father: Bring back her heart. The lords will take it in their hands....Hurry, bring it back in a bowl, put her heart in the bowl. Isn't that what we've been told? What shall we deliver in the bowl? What we want above all is that you do not die,' said the messengers."

Sensing the owls' solidarity with her predicament, Ixqiq seizes her moment: " 'Very well. My heart must not be theirs, nor will your homes be here [Xibalba]. Nor will you simply force people to die, but hereafter, what will be truly yours will be the true bearers of bastards. And hereafter, as for One and Seven Death [Xibalban lords], only blood, *only nodules of sap will be theirs. So be it that these things are presented before them, and not that hearts are burned* before them" (PV Tedlock 100-1). [Italics mine].

This is one of the most searing ideological debates in Latin American literature. In it we hear the voices and hopes of the muted actors, the victim and the victim's ceremonial executioners, in the drama that neither of them has created. In this moment, Ixqiq and the owls cease to be archetypes and begin to individuate, a process similar to the transition between Britain's medieval theatre of Everyman prototypes and the more clearly drawn characters of the Early Modern Period. The granting of voices to these shadow figures, the decision to endow them with pronouncements, feelings, and thoughts, renders the *Popul Vuh* seditious in the extreme. The line between resignation to the gods' dictates and the questioning of the

rightness of those dictates has been crossed. Political uprising is a matter of planning, and Ixq'iq does not ignore the technical aspects of her own private mutiny.

Her owl helpers cannot return to Xibalba empty-handed, and so they devise a scheme, making the laughter of the *PV* more grating, and more feminine. Trees, like the world tree that connects the Maya universe, are not only used as branches on which One Hunahpu's skull hangs; they can also be exploited as bearers of fragrant, heart-like copal resin. "And it was red tree sap she went out to gather in the bowl. After it congealed, the substitute for her heart became round. When the sap of the croton tree was tapped, tree sap like blood, it became the substitute for her blood" (*PV* Tedlock 101). Ixq'iq directs the anxious owls to fashion this tree's perfume in the form of a mutilated human heart, ostensibly her own.

Delighted with the ruse, the owls comply. But first they direct Ixq'iq up to the living Kaj Uleew, sky-earth, our Middle World, where they will subsequently make their home as well. "Very well, maiden. We'll show you the way up there. You just walk on ahead; we have yet to deliver this apparent duplicate of your heart before the lords" (*PV* Tedlock 101). Ixq'iq ascends from the underworld without having passed through any reincarnation. She appears in the Middle World of *Uleew* to complete her soul's cycle, conjoining two spheres that lead her to Life through Death and back again. In one lifetime, Ixq'iq accomplishes an entire cycle of reincarnation.

Ix Tab, the goddess who consoles suicide victims in the Maya jade and flower heaven, appears in Mayan codices when solar eclipses are calculated.<sup>108</sup> She represents comfort and the happy completion of the soul's cycle for those who could not bear the rigors of life in our Middle World, Uleew. Due to Ixq'iq's disobedience, the rigorous Uleew will become more

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<sup>108</sup> Thompson's translation of *The Dresden Codex* pays special attention linkages of gods and natural occurrences (176).

inhabitable for human beings. Freed of their sacrificial debt to the Underworld, humans are better able to confront life's trials and embrace difficulty as Ixqiq does, rather than flee from it into Ix Tab's suicidal arms. Viewed from the point of view of "humans to be," Ixqiq's removal from the space of Xibalba is a kindness for the people that the gods have not yet created. Her legacy (to us) is the rejection of blind obedience. Before she leaves Xibalba, she gives the owls the ability to extricate themselves from their onerous service to the Lords of Death: "'So you have been blessed with the face of the earth. It shall be yours,' she told the owls" (*PV* Tedlock 101). Ixqiq frees the owls from Xibalba's grip, and so they inhabit our earth, our Kaj Uleew, to this day.

The farce exudes irony when Ixqiq's father and the other Xibalbans rejoice with the delivery of her "heart" by the owls, while Ixqiq, concealed, waits for the ceremony to conclude before the birds lead her up from Xibalba. "'It has turned out well, your lordships, and this is her heart. It's in the bowl.' 'Very well. So I'll look,' said One Death, and when he lifted it up with his fingers, its surface was soaked with gore, its surface glistened red with blood. 'Good. Stir up the fire, put it over the fire,' said One Death. After that they dried it over the fire, and the Xibalbans savored the aroma. They all ended up standing here, they leaned over it intently. They found the smoke of the blood to be truly sweet!" (*PV* Tedlock 101).

Lady Blood Moon's rebellion disrupts the supernatural order, and Ixqiq is the first of the characters in the *Popul Vuh* to unmask the deities for fools, and live to tell about it. One Hunahpu and his twin 7 Seven Hunahpu had tried and failed, but the Mayan cosmos will be redeemed by Ixqiq's blasphemy. Her children, the Hero Twins, constitute the crux of the *Popul Vuh*, and inherit Ixqiq's disobedience, her cunning, and her shamanic ability to communicate with her winged brethren. "And while they [the Xibalbans] stayed at their cooking, the owls

went to show the maiden the way out. They sent her up through a hole onto the earth, and then the guides returned below. In this way the lords of Xibalba were defeated by a maiden; all of them were blinded” (*PV* Tedlock 102).

Cavillaca is already living in the Middle World that Ixqiq aspires to ascend to. *Kay pacha* is the Quechua term for the space-time of the present world. The *kay*, (here, “the present world”, a term encompassing earth space-time in direct relation to sky and underworld reality<sup>109</sup>) can be as much of a Hell for Cavillaca as was Xibalba for her Mayan counterpart. Cavillaca was defined as a “huaca” in a time when gods walked the earth, the “here-world,” the *kay pacha*. She had scores of suitors that the solitary Ixqiq, cloistered in the infra-world of Xibalba, could never dream of. But the Andean woman remained unfazed by male bluster. Cavillaca maintained the only element that grants a woman some leverage in a world that calibrates female value in terms of chastity. That element is predictably, her virginity.

In Chapter 2 of the *HM* (46) her virginity is given as a possession which other gods lust after: “Caui Llaca had always remained a virgin. Since she was very beautiful, every one of the huacas and villcas longed for her. ‘I’ve got to sleep with her!’ they thought. But she never consented.” Conscious of her worth, Cavillaca defends her status, losing it through no fault of her own to Conirraya’s botanical trick. Lopez de Gomara (Chap. 28, vol I, 216) equated Con with the seas, where Cavillaca descends to extricate herself from the lustful god.<sup>110</sup> She escapes her aquatic pursuer by merging with his symbol, deflecting Conirraya’s magic back in the water. Conirraya is lauded as a Creator Deity throughout Peru’s coastal regions, but in

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<sup>109</sup> Yanez del Pozo, in *Yanantin* (38) stresses the overlapping presences of the three worlds, which have porous and at times non-existent boundaries. The past, represented by the inner world of Urco Pacha, as we know psychologically, always intrudes on the present. In that vein, Ixqiq’s arising “from a hole in the earth” shares a similarity with Southwestern Hopi tradition, which sees Humanity rising up from a “sipapu,” an Earth hole.

<sup>110</sup> Aliaga, Francisco. “Los dioses en la mitología andina” in *Dialogo Andino*, 100. Aliaga emphasizes Cavillaca’s freedom and personal agency; Gomara notes the vindictive nature of Con, who dries the seas when angered his first created humans; the aquatic observations are mine.

*Huarochiri* he is reduced to an unfunny clown who derides his own Creation. He does not watch over his handiwork. Once it is created, it is on its own. Although his impregnation of Cavillaca does not suggest the physical, conscious horror of rape, it evokes rape's invasive offense, and like a rapist, Con leaves a fatherless child.

Eating from a substance that was in no way forbidden, (lucum is a staple food), Cavillaca is penetrated by Conirraya's camouflaged essence in the seeds of the fruit. No snake tempts her with promises. Unlike Eve, Cavillaca is not curious, merely hungry. Unlike Ixqiq, no skull entices her. Cavillaca was dutifully weaving when she swallowed the fruit; Ixqiq was loitering in the Xibalban orchard, looking for trouble. Though Cavillaca celebrates her child's birth with a feast, her merry making is colored by desperation. The purpose of her banquet is to reveal the origin of the child's father. The origin marks the child's placement within the ayllu, the kin group that is the basis for existence in Peru's indigenous cultures. Hence the eagerness of all the male deities who still strive to make Cavillaca their bride (*HM 2*, 47): "When the huacas heard the message, they were overjoyed, and they all came dressed in their best clothes, each saying to himself, 'It's me! It's me she'll love!'" Deflowered, she was more desirable: the seductive mother trumping the cloistered virgin.

Conirraya, in beggar's disguise, was ignored by Cavillaca until her baby, with the perception of the young who have not yet learned to lie, embraced this Trickster as the true father. Thereupon Cavillaca manifested her repulsion towards the god (*HM 2*, p. 47): "Since he looked like a friendless beggar sitting there, and since so many handsome men were present, she spurned him and didn't question him. She thought, How could my baby possibly be the child of that beggar?" She seized her baby from the midst of the male deities; a mother defying, as does Ixqiq, the destiny preordained for her in the gods' patriarchal world. Cavillaca

fled, as did Ixq'iq, escaping a world that male gods have made. Her power of choice was mocked by Conirraya's duplicity when he impregnated her without her awareness. Later, she would mock her sacred suitor's virility by scorning him.

With Cavillaca's flight, the role of victim (female) and victimizer (male) are reversed. By physically removing herself from the landscape of Huarochiri, the lands where these deities hold sway and are incarnated in the crevasses of its geography, Cavillaca stands the then-dominant spatial paradigm on its head. She runs towards the area where Conirraya himself will, in later myth, disappear: the Western ocean, the Pacific. There, transformed in "huaca" and sporting human and geological characteristics simultaneously, she ridicules, eternally, the Trickster God's presence. When Cavillaca absconded with her offspring, she rendered Conirraya a laughingstock, and left the groom waiting at the altar forever.<sup>111</sup> Drama dies without an audience, and Conirraya's performance fails.

Although Conirraya attempted to dazzle Cavillaca with his finery, she refused to glance at him. The female potential spectator held sway over the male actor, by withdrawing her gaze from him. Despite his histrionics, she disentangled herself from his drama: "And then, while all the local huacas stood in awe, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, 'She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me. Sister Caui Llaca!' he called after her. 'Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!' He said, and he stood there making his garments glitter. Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him." (HM 2, 47)

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<sup>111</sup> The theme of a woman enshrined in stone with her offspring, a sort of "huaca" Maya, is found in the Campeche region of the Yucatan peninsula as well. During 2009 I visited Ixtacumbilxunaan, a grotto used by the ancient Maya as a source of water. The now dry cenote is presented as the spot to which a Mayan bride, long ago, fled with her child to elude her enraged father, who detested the bridegroom. Mother and child are perceived to exist in a rock formation at the bottom of the grotto that mimics a baby nursing at his mother's breast.

The consummate politician, Conirraya inquired of certain animals as to Cavillaca's whereabouts, cursing those who speak truth (she has fled) and blessing those who lie (she is close by) and mollify his male pride: "And so he traveled on. Whenever he met anyone who gave him good news, he conferred on him a good fortune. But he went along viciously cursing those who gave him bad news." (*HM 2*, 49) As in Greek mythology, gods in the *HM* are petty and vain. Conirraya falls prey to his ego, and wanders lost in his own illusions. Cavillaca finds her way, and assumes the divine status of the ancestors and the sacred geography in which they exist. She becomes a huaca and her child becomes another one, and their visible form is a stone monolith rising from the sea: "She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac, out there where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand. And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone." (*HM 2*, 47-48)

In Andean terms, stone does **not** signify death.<sup>112</sup> Cavillaca continues to exist, and is in fact later visited by Urpay Huachac, mother of the earth god Pacha Camac's daughters: "Just before this, the two girls' mother had gone into the deep sea to visit Cui Llac. Her name was Urpay Huachac." (*HM 2*, 49) Cavillaca eludes the sea-god's grasp while stoking his desire by remaining close to him and his metonymic extension, the sea. She chooses her visitors. Urpay Huachac is welcome, Conirraya is rejected, a fact he acknowledges when he destroys Urpay Huachac's world pond, thereby filling the sea: "It was these fish, all of them, that Cui Raya angrily scattered into the ocean, saying, 'For what did she go off and visit Cui Llac the woman of the ocean depths?' Ever since then, fish have filled the sea." (*HM 2*, 49)

Cavillaca descends spatially and is deified. Ixqiq ascends spatially and is humanized. She eschews her supernatural status in Xibalba to integrate into the pre-human world of Uleew,

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<sup>112</sup> Non-Incan shamanic thought allows different forms of matter to co-exist simultaneously. Incan thought may have looked at petrification as a punishment; although this may be a Spanish clerical interpretation (re: Murua).

and once she relinquishes her Xibalban birthright, Ixqiq develops her own power. Taking the reverse approach, Cavillaca relinquishes her existence as a beautiful damsel in the Middle World of dry land, deifying herself as a sea-goddess. Her child descends to the watery realm with her, doubly thwarting Conirraya's ambition. Limited human vision (and Conirraya's machista god-vision) perceives Cavillaca's exterior manifestation: petrified stone. But in her avatar as sea goddess, Cavillaca joins a coterie of spirits who inhabit the waters of Latin America. They are the enigmatic "ladies of the lake," to borrow an Arthurian term. These include Tatacoa, protectress of the waters of Colombian forests; and Yemanjá, the West African coastal divinity transferred to Brazil by Yoruba slaves. The trickster god's lineage in the human-based present sphere, the Kay Pacha, is truncated by Cavillaca's rejection; in contrast, she is apotheosized.<sup>113</sup>

Ixqiq, for her part, confounds Xibalban continuity when she raises her Twins in the soon-to-be human Middle World, Uleew. Daughter of a death-god, she throws her lot in with mortal existence in Uleew. Xibalba will no longer encompass that sphere following Ixqiq's defection, and her legend imprinted the general Mayan perspective. In 1570, chronicler Tomas Lopez Medel recorded in his botanical tract *De los tres elementos...* that the Maya in Chichen Itza had astonished him with a past account of an unsuccessful human sacrifice. Sent by the sacrificial priests to beseech the gods for good crops, this Ixqiq-like female refused. If they insisted on drowning her in Chichen's cenote, she would not send any help for her people from

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<sup>113</sup> Oscar Quezada Macchiavello speculates that Conirraya's pranks-including impregnating Cavillaca and possibly raping one of her sisters-symbolize the profanation of Andean holy sites by the Spaniards at the time of the transcription of the *HM* ("Phoric Vectors and Tensive Dimensions in the Huarochiri Manuscript" 31). I would add that it ALSO signifies the profanation of Yunca and Yauyo holy sites by Incan armies, since Conirraya is associated with the Incas much more than with the Spanish Conquistadors.



the gods. Her bravery and expressiveness (*denuedo y desenvoltura*) wore out the sacrificial priests, and they were obliged to release her. (Lopez Medel 235-6)

Strong women are fixtures of Mayan history. A series of important warrior queens, such as the 6<sup>th</sup> century Yohl Ik Nahl of Palenque, or late 7<sup>th</sup> century 6-Sky of Naranjo,<sup>114</sup> fought offensive and defensive wars to protect and expand their city-states' influence. As women in a patriarchal society, they wielded power during inter-regnum periods: 6-Sky was a regent while her baby son grew up on the throne; Yohl Ik Nahl assumed control of her besieged city due to marriage and rank. Ixqiq reflects this elite tendency, since she is also the daughter of a Lord, though her maternity did not cement alliances. Instead, it threw her godly patrimony into chaos.

Maternity was often the only space in which female power reigned supreme, and Cavillaca and Ixqiq transformed maternity into a political declaration of war, by deciding their children's future. These women subvert the male gods' design. In Proverbs, 11:29, Jews and Christians read that the one who troubles his own house shall, in the famous phrase, "inherit the wind." The Koran, in 16:120, compares children's obedience to their parents to Man's obedience to God. As opposed to the monotheistic (and Aztec) norm, Ixqiq and Cavillaca troubled their own houses no end, defied the gods, and achieved freedom. The Aztec mother-goddess Tonantzin had morphed into the Virgin of Guadalupe, but Ixqiq and Cavillaca were not assimilated into any palatable prototype for colonial evangelization.

Ixqiq and Cavillaca are apostates, and overthrow the First Orders in the Universe. They established the matrix of celestial upheaval, but it remained for their descendants to perpetuate the struggle. Subsequent personages in the *HM* and the *PV* augment the women's role in

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<sup>114</sup> David Friedel, David Stuart, Bill Saturno and Arthur Demarest have, in the past decade, widened our understanding of the prominent role of Mayan women in male-dominated royal politics and civil wars.

Mayan and Andean narratives and connect the rebellious mothers, Ixqiq and Cavillaca, with the human agricultural epic.

## *2.2 Matter and Survival: Ixmucane and Choque Suso as Caregivers and Seducers in the Natural Order*

Consonant with the theme of defiance as established by Ixqiq and Cavillaca, grandmother Ixmucane from the *Popul Vuh* and the younger Choque Suso from *Huarochiri* confound male gods who menace the Middle World. Well-being entails the abundance of crops and water, endowing their confrontations with existential dimensions for humanity. Ixmucane and Choque Suso subject the “other” to a series of ordeals that test the farming prowess and sincerity of the “other’s” intent. For Ixmucane, the “other” is our familiar Ixqiq, newly arrived from the Underworld. For Choque Suso, “the other” is the pre-Incan mountain and rain deity of the Yauyo people, Paria Caca. Like Ixqiq, Paria Caca carves another niche of cosmic rebellion against older, bloodier gods.

The survival motif for Ixmucane and Choque Suso is the same: physical sustenance. They refuse to share their day to day existence and offer hospitality (or sex) until the *other* subjects (Ixqiq, Paria Caca) prove their sincerity and thus, their worthiness to share the duties of the harvest/irrigation. Calamity, in the recognizable form of starvation, will ensue should these alien subjects-Ixqiq, Paria Caca-prove incapable of performing the assigned field-tasks. Mistresses of their own crops, Ixmucane and Choque Suso personify the agonistic struggle for existence in Central American and Andean terrains, where arable land is scarce, and there are ever present natural disasters. The gods’ cooperation has got to be coaxed, cajoled, or seduced

out of them. The “other” must co-operate fully, or risk being ostracized, no matter how lofty their origin.

Ixmucane is the cosmic Grandmother figure, whose prototype is found among groups as distant from the Maya as the Haida of western Canada, or the Pueblo peoples of the American Southwest. In Tlingit and Haida legend, Grandmother Frog/Volcano Woman dwells underground, punishing and rewarding humanity for their treatment, or mistreatment, of the land and its animals.<sup>115</sup> For the Maya, Grandmother is the procreative aspect of the Creator, at once male and female, as is her husband, Grandfather Xpiyacoc. They are the guardians of the human community and of its related flora and fauna. “Xpiyacoc is a divine matchmaker and therefore prior to all marriage, and Xmucane is a divine midwife and therefore prior to all birth” (*PV* Tedlock: Introduction 32).

In the *Popul Vuh* Ixmucane’s maternal reach encompasses all peoples, since it is she who grinds them from corn from which the flesh and blood of human beings are fashioned. “And then the yellow corn and the white corn were ground, and Xmucane did the grinding nine times. Food was used, along with the water she rinsed her hands with, for the creation of grease; it became human fat when it was worked by the Bearer, the Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, as they are called” (*PV* Tedlock 146). As Eric Thompson observed, Mayan corn glyphs were associated with the reception of prophecy, (Thompson 230) making Ixmucane’s grinding foreshadow the human narrative.

Her protective presence is bound up with seasonal farming and with the formation and/or disintegration of families for whom agriculture is quintessential life. Having lost the first generation of twins, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, to the chicanery of the Lords of

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<sup>115</sup> The finest retelling of this legend is *Frog Girl*, by Paul Owen Lewis (Berkeley: Tricycle Press, 2001). Lewis stresses the guardianship role of Frog Woman/Volcano Woman in reaction to two Haida youths who abuse her protected animals and thereby disrupt the balance of Nature.

Xibalba, Ixmucane is loath to lose the second pair, Ixqiq's sons, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. Anguished, Xmucane delays their inevitable destiny, the battle with Xibalba, by hiding the ball-playing gear of their male progenitors (One and Seven Hunahpu, fused into a single manifestation). But despite her best attempts, a loquacious rat reveals the meaning of the equipment to the boys: “ ‘It's something that belonged to your fathers, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, who died in Xibalba. What remains is their gaming equipment. They left it up under the roof of the house: their kilts, their wrist guards, and their rubber ball. But your grandmother doesn't take these down in front of you, because this is how your fathers died' ” (PV Tedlock 111).

When the brave but harried Ixqiq arrives, fresh from the mouth of Hell, her tidings unnerved Ixmucane. Ixqiq was carrying the sons of the deceased One and Seven Hunahpu, sacrificed in Xibalba for having annoyed the Underworld with the Overworld rubber ball game.<sup>116</sup> Understandably, Ixmucane's first reaction to her Xibalban daughter in law is contempt and incredulity, her horror stemming from the transgression of Nature's cycles, since Ixqiq's pregnancy exhibits monstrous qualities. How could Ixqiq be impregnated by the skull of Ixmucane's dead sons? This gainsays logic, even the supernatural boundaries of logic defined by the *Popul Vuh*. “ ‘I don't want you, no thanks, my daughter in law. It's just a bastard in your belly, you trickster! These children of mine who are named by you are dead,' ” said the grandmother.

Unfazed, Ixqiq explains how Ixmucane's sons have been reborn through her pregnancy, highlighting the circularity of death and rebirth: “ ‘Even so, I really am your daughter-in-law. I am already his, I belong to One Hunahpu. What I carry is his. One Hunahpu and Seven

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<sup>116</sup> This is of course the classic Mesoamerican ballgame in which players, without using their hands, attempted to force hard latex balls through large stone hoops. The game is at least 3,000 years old, and ranges from Honduras in the South to the ruins of Arizona's Wupatki Hopi living-complex, dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Hunahpu are alive, they are not dead. They have merely made a way for the light to show itself, my mother-in-law, as you will see when you look at the faces of what I carry...” (PV Tedlock 102). But it was not only the manner of conception, receiving the spittle of Hunahpu’s skull in one’s hand, which evokes Ixmucane’s horror. Ixmucane does not believe that the Xibalban Ixqiq can cultivate sacred corn in the Middle World.

Ixqiq is forced to validate, and substantiate, her tale of forbidden contact with the dead hero One Hunahpu by bringing Ixmucane the corn, from which humanity will emerge. In order to secure the precious foodstuff, Ixqiq summons the help of other female deities, enmeshed in life and food cycles: “ ‘Come on out, rise up now, come on out, stand up now: Thunder Woman, Yellow Woman, Cacao Woman and Cornmeal Woman....” (PV Tedlock 103).<sup>117</sup> Until Ixqiq returns with maize and proved her worth as a pillar of the Mayan household, Ixmucane will not recognize any bond with her. Ixqiq’s sole hope rests on the tenet of immortality **not** as an antonym of death, but as an interchange between beings, living and dead, who inhabit the complementary spheres of existence<sup>118</sup> (The frequent apparitions of the departed in Andean farming grounds where they had labored in life, found in colonial and modern accounts, evince a similar perspective: life and death are facets of a single system that loops around ad infinitum).

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<sup>117</sup> This invocation recalls North American Indian prayers addressed to the “three sisters”: corn, beans and squash. The Mayan version adds the cherished bean of Mesoamerica: chocolate. Corn is a constant in both versions.

<sup>118</sup> Historian Nick James, in a series of lectures given at the British Museum in January 2010, differentiated between the interaction between dead and living in Mayan art and thought, as opposed to the Western/Kuranic conception of immortality, in which death is overcome. Mayan art, in James view, conveys ceaseless interchange between the two states of being, which nourish and renew each other. Western art nullifies one of the alternatives.

To show that she is deserving of wedding/bedding the dead Hunahpu, Ixq'iq brings back corn. Considering the primacy of corn in the composition of Mayan life,<sup>119</sup> through today, Ixq'iq corn-quest is tantamount to renouncing her Xibalban forbears and becoming human herself. Seen as archetypes, Ixmucane personifies the Mayan staff of life (molding the corn tortilla as she molds the flesh of human beings), and her counterpart in *Huarochiri* is Choque Suso. Choque Suso, like Ixmucane, is a strong willed woman who will stay right here in the *Kay Pacha* (space-time of the here and now), even when she is apotheosized into a goddess/huaca. She belittles the sexual advances of the gods, conceding to them at her convenience, and in the meantime, she causes comical grief to her suitors. Unlike Leda in the Greek tale of Zeus' conquests, Choque Suso will not be raped, seduced, or inveigled into sensual entanglements. And even more unlike the celibate Cavillaca, she permits herself the pleasure of non-committal sex with a god.

Choque Suso's semiotic identification reflects her geographical circumstances. Her geologies are the man-made terraces of the Andean steppes, where water-runoff is stored and guarded for cold-weather planting. Whereas Ixq'iq is forced by Ixmucane to cultivate, Paria Caca is forced by Choque Suso to irrigate. In a feminine sense, Choque Suso represents the concept of controlled and directed water, water being more precious than gold in Andean fields. Nonetheless, the god Paria Caca foolishly jests with water and squanders it in his attempts to seduce Choque Suso. In masculine terms, water reflects the god's lack of self-mastery when jousting with females. He tries, though, in *HM* 6, 62: " 'Sister, why are you crying so hard?' Paria Caca asked her. 'Sir, this little maize field of mine is drying up on me for lack of water!' she replied. 'Don't worry about it,' Paria Caca said to her. 'I'll make water

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<sup>119</sup> Mercedes de la Garza (14, 2007) noted that, for the Maya eating corn, "ixim," is tantamount to infusing oneself with Divine Grace. Eating corn renders the divine as something that can be internalized rather than obeyed.

flow from this pond of yours, plenty of water. But first, let me sleep with you.’ ” It is not hard to perceive the double entendre pulsing beneath the streams of liquids sprouting every which way while Paria Caca pleads with this damsel for sexual satisfaction. And it gets worse: “ ‘Get the water flowing first,’ she retorted. ‘When my field is watered, then by all means let’s sleep together.’ ‘Fine!’ said Paria Caca, and released an ample amount of water. Overjoyed, the woman thoroughly watered all her fields. After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, ‘Let’s sleep together.’ ‘Not right now,’ she replied. ‘Let’s sleep together tomorrow or the day after.’ ” (HM 6, 62)

Giulanna Borea LaBarthe (2002) recorded rites in Andean communities that harken back to the preparation of the irrigation canals described in the *HM*. (Localist tendencies outlast empires in Peru. MacCormack remarked that during the colonial period “regional deities retained control of their lands, herds, supplies and personnel... Andeans...were committed to protecting from expropriation the property of their own gods and cared much less about what belonged to the Inca and his gods” (MacCormack 1991, 151) ). The rites described by Borea LaBarthe are connected with licentiousness, in the persona of a woman who is not a virgin. She must be a widow, single, or divorced but she must have been initiated into the world of sexuality; see: (La Barthe. “Tras los pasos del parian...” 155). Choque Suso’s reaction to Paria Caca mark her as emphatically non-virginal, as no novice would remain so indifferent before the advances of Huarochiri’s most potent supernatural phallus.

Choque Suso is unshakeable in her refusal to alleviate Paria Caca’s sexual angst unless he performs a few agricultural miracles for her, inverting the literary paradigm, common in both oral and written cultures, of the “emotional” female and the “rational” male. Her behavior is deliberate and calculating in response to Paria Caca’s beleaguered entreaties for sexual

gratification. The manuscript reveals Choque Suso's strategy: "Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, I wish I could sleep with her right now! And [he] promised her all kinds of things. 'I'll fix this field of yours up with a water source directly from the river,' he said. 'Do that first, and then we'll sleep together,' the woman replied." (HM 6, 62)

Choque Suso extracts a boon that is an existential sine qua non in unforgiving Andean terrain. She wants concrete works that assure physical survival and sustenance: canals, watered fields, and tunnels. Unmoved by the declarations of passion that are the marrow of fairy-tale fantasy, Choque Suso adopts a hard-headed approach; she needs an irrigation system more than a night of sex. Sex can wait, but drought cannot, as Andean reality impinges on romance: " 'All right,' Paria Caca said. He widened an irrigation canal that had belonged to the Yunca people, a little ditch that descended long ago from the ravine called Coco Challa to the small hill overlooking San Lorenzo. He extended this canal down as far as the fields of Lower Cupara." (HM 6, 62)

This woman is no princess waiting to be rescued. Choque Suso is a self-sustaining agriculturalist when she makes her appearance in the *Manuscript*. Because she is a self-possessed adult, she is infuriated by Paria Caca's adolescent prank of damming up the little water that she has available to her. Amorous and spurting, the god has ravaged her fields in an attempt to catch her eye. Her eye, pragmatically, is on her property and its productive capability. Choque Suso weeps for her destroyed crop-yield, but she in no way swoons at the sight, or the spouting, of the deity. (HM 6, 62): "This woman was weeping while she irrigated her maize plants because they were drying out so badly, and because her water supply was so very scarce. When Paria Caca saw this, he obstructed the mouth of her little pond with his cloak. The woman started to cry even more bitterly when she saw him do that."



Like Ixmucane, Choque Suso maintains her equilibrium within the world by herself. But her solitude is illusory, for Andean and Mayan geographies are alive and suffused with spiritual power. For Choque Suso, the presence of a lover, even a divine one, is only desirable if the romantic candidate can aid her in the upkeep of her hard-won living space-her fields, her canals, and her terraces. Those entities are company enough.

In the *PV*, Ixmucane demands that Ixqiq fill her field net with corn, although the land is barren. Her agricultural mission is achieved because Ixqiq *does* have the supernatural essence that Ixmucane doubts. Paria Caca's concessions to Choque Suso, however, are not helped by his supernatural essence. His godliness does not bring him closer to the object of his desire, Choque Suso, though it spurs on the building of her irrigation canals. Meanwhile, the process of canal-building becomes more elaborate, ranging from releasing clogged water to the technical construction of the canal with the aid of the forest animals: "Pumas, foxes, snakes, and all kinds of birds cleaned and fixed that canal. Pumas, jaguars and all kinds of animals vied with each other to improve it...."(HM 6, 62)

In a ludic sense, Choque Suso is establishing, or forcing Paria Caca to establish, the bulwarks of Andean and coastal Peruvian agriculture. Through his romantic ordeal, Paria Caca is humbled by the superiority of Choque Suso's strategy. In *Huarochiri* and in the *Popul Vuh* thought is employed more cunningly by female Creation than by the initial male Creators. Alarmed by the prospect of beings wiser than they, the Gods of the *PV* strove to curtail the power of the mind by dimming human vision. "They were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon. Their vision flickered. Now it was only from up close that they could see what was there with any clarity" (*PV* Tedlock 148). Notwithstanding the gods' best efforts, the later

human female mind outwits its Makers. Women embody the power of Reason in the human “Middle” World, which is strong enough to harness the godly, masculine power of magic.

The impertinence of Choque Suso towards Paria Caca until he repairs his flood damage, and the hostility shown by Ixmucane towards Ixqiq until Lady Blood Moon proves her dexterity with the corn crop, must be analyzed in the agricultural praxis of the epics. Reasoned thought, demonstrated by the tasks assigned by Ixmucane and Choque Suso, the gathering of corn and the preparation of field irrigation, contrast with the male gods’ downright sloppy attempts at Creation. While the contest between Ixmucane and Ixqiq transpires between two women, it is crucial that Ixqiq calls upon female deities (Corn Meal Woman, etc.) to settle it. Goddesses and not gods are the ones capable of accomplishing complicated tasks.

*Huarochiri* describes a defective first male universe where the sun failed, and everything was topsy-turvy. This was no awe-inspiring Incan solar deity, or the biblically perfect “greater light.” Instead, it was a slipshod firmament (*HM* 4, 53): “In ancient times, the sun died. Because of his death it was night for five days. Rocks banged against each other. Mortars and grinding stones began to eat people. Buck llamas started to drive men.” The *Popul Vuh* also insisted on an early revolt in the Universe. There too the rebellious spirit of Creation disdained the orders of the male Creators, and inanimate objects rose up against their masters: “And then their tortilla griddles and cooking pots spoke to them in turn: ‘Pain! That’s all you’ve done for us. Our mouths are sooty, our faces are sooty. By setting us on the fire all the time, you burn us. Since we felt no pain, you try it. We shall burn you,’ all their cooking pots said, crushing their faces.” (*PV* Tedlock 72)

First Creation, in both cases, was a mess.

The *PV* records the mishaps of the first clay and wooden beings, incapable of singing the gods' praises and therefore expunged by them. Humiliated, the male gods ask Grandmother Ixmucane to sculpt the staff of life, corn, into the human mold. "Midwife, matchmaker, our grandmother, our grandfather, Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, let there be planting, let there be the dawning of our invocation, our sustenance, our recognition by the human work, the human design, the human figure, the human form" (*PV* Tedlock, 69). Mayan thought ascribes egotistical motives to the deities: " 'The time for the planting and dawning is nearing. For this we must make a provider and a nurturer. How else can we be invoked and remembered on the face of the earth?' " (*PV* Tedlock 68). Do omnipotent beings need odes to their grandeur? Mayan gods suffer from a human vulnerability: the need for approval. In the *HM*, Paria Caca demonstrates this same need with Choque Suso, in the most lascivious manner imaginable.

Animals could not fulfill the gods' need for validation in the *PV* or the *HM*. The great Viracocha depended on the tidings of animals in order to find Cavillaca, none of which, positive or negative, satisfied his demands either. Still, animals are better than inarticulate wood and clay entities, for which reason the gods had allowed fauna to populate Uleew, the Middle World. Yet in the first segment of the *PV*, prior to Ixqiq and the Hero Twins' communication with them, animals lacked the ability to speak: "But it didn't turn out that they spoke like people: they just squawked, they just chattered, they just howled. It wasn't apparent what language they spoke; each one gave a different cry" (*PV* Tedlock 67).

In contrast, the *Manuscrito de Huarochiri* granted animals the power of speech from the outset, when the human brain proved too unwilling or too obtuse to grasp imminent disaster. After an angry llama herder tossed a corn-cob at his animal, the llama admonished the person in a way that this limited biped can understand, as stated in the *HM* 3, 51: "Then that

llama began speaking like a human being. You simpleton, whatever could you be thinking about? Soon, in five days, the ocean will overflow. It's a certainty. And the whole world will come to an end." The llama was considered in the *HM* just the way that Callaway Indians of Bolivia view him today, as the full equal to a human in animal form. The same perspective regarding animals is inherent in the *Popul Vuh*.

### 2.3 Creation and the Female Character

First the Mayan gods, Tepeuh and Gukumatz, created the world: "And the earth was formed first, the mountain plain. The channels of water were separated; their branches wound their ways among the mountains. The waters were divided when the great mountains appeared." (*PV* Tedlock 66) Ixmucane, the seasoned and mature woman, locates the incipient fragments of Creation, the corn, and reconstructs them as Humanity. Her conscientious use of Nature contrasts with the theatricality of the failed male divinities. Rational methodology, in Mayan thought, takes root in the world with Ixmucane.

Water is to the Andes what corn is to Central America. It is the Alpha source from which an entire cosmogony originates. But water is something else as well: the double edged sword of Andean existence. In its benevolent aspect, water upholds the environment, and in its nihilistic aspect it drowns everything in its path. Choque Suso, knowing this, reins in Paria Caca's untrammelled and uncontrolled watery passion. If she does not, then she, and metonymically, all of Andean civilization, will be submerged. In her role as arbiter of natural power, Choque Suso bends the male god to her will. She is remembered for it in Andean tradition, as the Altiplano villagers recreate her triumph every May when they clean and reconsecrate their water canals. The *HM* recounts such a ceremony in Chapter 7 (64-5): "In

worshipping her, they built a quishuar [sacred wood] enclosure and stayed inside for five days without ever letting people walk outside. It's said that when they finished that, and accomplished everything else including their canal cleaning, the people came home dancing and singing. They'd lead one woman along in their midst, reverencing her as they did the huaca and saying, 'This is Choque Suso!' ”

Procrastinating and tantalizing in her relationship with the god, Choque Suso embodied erotic tension in the landscape. Geologically, she (earth) teases the telluric urge which lures Paria Caca (rain) into complying with her desire. Hers is not some pride-based uprising against the Divine Order. Unlike the vain Lucifer, Choque Suso is an agricultural altruist. In the framework of the *HM*, Paria Caca is the most beloved deity, and he cannot be scoffed at unless some higher purpose, such as the salvation of the fields, is at stake. Earlier in the same chapter where Choque Suso appears (*HM* 6, 62), Paria Caca had unleashed his watery wrath upon other villages as punishment for their greed. Consequently, the landscape is shaped and the god's presence is perpetuated in physical space: “At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide, and shaped the high slopes and valleys of Huaró Cheri.” Water is the principal element in Paria Caca's apocalypse with his nemesis, the god of human child sacrifice, Huallallo. Neither Choque Suso nor her village can dismiss the prospect of yet another deluge.

Through her sexual cunning, Choque Suso reverses the rules of human-to-deity submission, and of female to male submission as well. In accordance with her plan, she coaxes and even hoodwinks Paria Caca into helping her. Echoing Ixmucane's measured approach to Creation, Choque Suso manipulates the most prized resource, water, by harnessing and redirecting Paria Caca's unbridled and melodramatic floods. Choque Suso does not want roses in return for her favors. She demands guaranteed hydraulic energy.

Ixmucane and Choque Suso are juxtaposed with the impulsive male protagonists of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. In their roles as models of thinking and planned fertility, female strategists refine the male chaotic first attempts at Creation. A blurred mess was wrought by the male gods in their disorganized attempts to engender the world and this mess is cleaned by rational deeds of women. Neither Choque Suso nor Ixmucane defeat male gods on the battlefield. But once the battle moves inward, to the realm of the intellect, it becomes clear that female intelligence cannot be obliterated by masculine Might.<sup>120</sup> Nicholas Beauclair, for this reason, postulates that women, and female huacas, flaunt superiority in the Andean texts (“La filosofia intercultural y el *Manuscrito de Huarochiri*” 83).

Maya and Andean (Yunca/Yauyo) societies were patriarchal, but less so than Spanish, Aztec, or Inca models. Though sedition in Choque Suso’s and Ixmucane’s comportment is less evident than the sweeping gestures of Ixq’iq (up from Hell) and Cavillaca (down to the Depths), sedition is fundamental in all female character development in the *PV* and the *HM*. Ixq’iq and Cavillaca initiate this obstreperous rebellion within the Divine order, and no patriarchal order is absolute if female prototypes can mock it. Their personal uprisings posit a realm of free will, unleashing geographical (displacement-Ixq’iq from Xibalba to Uleew) and even geological (person to stone-Cavillaca as damsel and “huaca”) possibilities that dissipate male gods’ control.

The subversive notion that deities can be questioned, berated, and unhinged is the narrative thread that weaves through these epics, and weaving is a cogent metaphor in both cultures. It enshrines the rhythms/colors of existence. Threads arch and split into distinct,

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<sup>120</sup> (Yanantin 92): Yanez del Pozo is one of the first theorists to analyze *Huarochiri* from the optics of gender.

related segments, forming part of an insurrectionary fabric that ranges from the defiance of Ixqiq and Cavillaca to the calculating ruses of Choque Suso and Ixmucane.

Insurrection modifies itself in accordance with the heroine's exigencies. Throwing off the yoke of the Divine requires the grand gesture (Ixqiq, Cavillaca), whereas day to day life in the more mundane "Middle World" (Kay Pacha, Kaj-Uleew<sup>121</sup>) demands refining and redirecting emotions. Rebellion on a daily scale must take less fiery forms, precisely those of Choque Suso and Ixmucane. Self-mastery permeates Ixmucane's and Choque Suso's characters, whereas passion in its extremes of love and hate defines the personalities of Ixqiq and Cavillaca. All four cases exalt the feminine element, recalling episodes in colonial chronicles which distinguish Mayan and Andean women from those of more paternalistic empires.<sup>122</sup>

While not resembling egalitarian society, Mayan and Andean cultures permitted women more latitude than did the structures of Aztecs, Incas, or Renaissance Europe. Guaman Poma mentions the honorific title "uarmi auqa" in Quechua (*warrior woman*), referring to non-Incan female generals that Cuzco could not subjugate.<sup>123</sup> Pachacuti Yamqui, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, recounted the tradition of the "army of women" that challenged Inca emperors such as Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac two centuries earlier. The chronicler remarked how in the late 1400s "a masculine woman" named Chanan Cori Coca combatted advancing Incan armies. But even within the paternalistic slant of Inca policy, one of their founding legends attributed

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<sup>121</sup> Tedlock notes: "If we had an English word that fully expressed the Mayan sense of narrative time, it would have to embrace the duality of the divine and the human in the same way the Quiche term *kajulew* or "sky-earth" preserves the duality of what we call the "world" (*PV* Intro, 59). Contrast this with Quechua *pacha*: "time-space".

<sup>122</sup> Pachacuti Yamqui stated that the Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui had, in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, confronted non-Incan Andean armies led by women as well as men. The fact is repeated by chroniclers throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. (See: Rosario Novarro Gala. Ed. *Relacion de Antigüedades deste Reyno de Peru*. 168).

<sup>123</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala, vol. II, 811 (1615) Ed. Pease, 1993.

military prowess to the matriarch Mama Huaco, who, according to the Spanish chronicler Murua, dismembered her enemies and blew into their severed lungs. When the Incas invaded Cuzco in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Mama Huaco supposedly murdered a native of the Poques peoples in this way, as an ominous signal to the rest of the population to accept the new rulers. While it would be easy to dismiss this as a Spanish clerical fiction at first glance, the story could hardly have encouraged the Spanish colonial enterprise. It emphasized Inca physical bellicosity, embodied in the female warrior, and Peru was never as easily “pacified” as Aztec Mexico had been.<sup>124</sup>

As opposed to the Aztec dynasty in Tenochtitlan where women played no part in government, Mayan city-states had female as well as male rulers, who engaged in priestly ceremonies at the highest levels. Women summoned the ancestral spirits of kings in the form of the Vision Serpent, and exhibited oracular powers in the transference and/or retention of state control. The most famous of these women, the so-called “Mayan Snake Queens,” was Lady K’ab’aal Xook. She ruled in Yaxchilan, Yucatan, at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Her skyward-facing posture, summoning the writhing totem-dragon of her dynasty through her stingray-done bloodletting, is sculpted in Lintels 23 and 25, (c. 681 ACE) of the Yaxchilan friezes in the British Museum.<sup>125</sup> Lady Xook’s participation in the rite of conjuring ranked her alongside the highest male authorities of Mayan kingly protocol. From among the clouds of incense delineated on the Yaxchilan Friezes, Lady Xook converses with her ancestors, and dictates political policy to the male sovereigns who surround her.

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<sup>124</sup> Martin de Murua (1616) (Ed. Ballesteros 4, p. 57, 1986).

<sup>125</sup> Excellent reproductions of these lintels by the Mayanist Merle Robertson can be found at: [www.mesoweb.com/rubbings](http://www.mesoweb.com/rubbings)



Among the Aztecs, the only woman to glimpse the interior of their temples, and survive, was Cortes' translator and slave, Ce Malinalli, or "Malinche": "Malinche would have been accustomed, conceptually at least, to the practice of ritual sacrifice, but the inner sanctum of such a temple would have been as unfamiliar to her as to the Spaniards. To see what she did that day, and live, would have made her unique among Meso Americans, and she would have known it" (Anna Lanyon. *Malinche's Conquest* 125).

A woman's presence in the Great Temple promised the demise of Aztec religion. In comparison, in ancient and contemporary Maya communities shamanic duties are shared between men and women, with holy men assuming feminine characteristics as necessary. In the religious poetry of the Mayas, masculine and feminine traits of deities are doubled, in what Christenson terms a "parallel occupation" (Christenson *PV* 36). Old Ixmucane, the cosmic Grandmother, is invoked together with her mate/masculine aspect, Ixpiyacoc, maintaining the balance needed for complete Creation. Kindred male-female parallelism is replicated in modern Andean irrigation festivities, in the sister towns of Huarochiri and San Damian, celebrated to mark the humorous creation of Mama Capiama's canals every February 3<sup>rd</sup>. Capiama, mentioned in Chapter 31, sections 408-27 of *Huarochiri* (*HM* 139-40) is the darling of the lake huaca Collquiri. In the festivities, she is presented as the siren-like paramour of Pedro Batan, who shares with Collquiri, (and with Paria Caca) the tendency to "ejaculate-flood," sexually and figuratively, the canals of his lady-love, and inundate the villagers. This annual festival in Huarochiri recalls that moment in *Huarochiri* where the villagers, sick to death of so much divine ardor, forego tact, and tell the god and his vital fluids to "plug it up!"

(*HM* 141). For her part, Capyama, princess of the *HM*, and siren of 21<sup>st</sup> century Huarochiri, makes sure to take her pleasure with Pedro before his “plug” is inserted.<sup>126</sup>

Choque Suso does enjoy Paria Caca sexually, on her own terms. Following their completed tryst, Choque Suso opts not to accompany the god, and remains forever by her beloved irrigation canals, a deified huaca. Her lithification on the material plane is, like her sexual timing, at her own behest:

When in fact he'd finished all this, Paria Caca said to Choque Suso, 'Let's sleep together!' 'Let's climb to a high ledge. There we'll sleep together,' she answered him. Today, this ledge is called Yana Caca. There the two of them did sleep together. Once she'd slept with him, that woman said, 'Let's just the two of us go off someplace.' 'Let's go!' he replied and led to the mouth of the canal called Coco Challa. When they got there the woman named Choque Suso said, 'Right in this canal, that's where I'll stay!' And she froze stock still, and turned to stone. (6, 63)

Unlike Cavillaca, or Greece's Daphne, Choque Suso does not flee a pursuing god. She had her man/god when she wanted him, and then she had enough. By deifying herself, “huacasizing”, so to speak, Choque Suso enjoys Paria Caca's world without being subservient to him. She remains visible to humans in stone form, while taunting Paria Caca in her female body.

Ixmucane also deifies herself, through the use of corn rather than stone. (Both corn and stone are suffused with the life-force in Native American thought). She plants the corn in patio of her dwelling in the Middle World, and its flowering adumbrates either the well-being or the annihilation of the Hero Twins during their sojourn in Xibalba. Owing to the Twins' propensity to bewilder Death even after having died, the corn blossoms and wilts and blossoms again, while Ixmucane rejoices and weeps and rejoices. “She cries when the season comes for corn plants to dry out, signifying the death of her grandsons, and rejoices when they sprout again,

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<sup>126</sup> A full description of this contemporary re-enactment of the *Huarochiri* stories is to be found in the book *Hijas de Kavillaca-tradicion oral de mujeres de Huarochiri* (2002, 80).

signifying rebirth” (*PV* Tedlock: Intro 43). Corn plants renew themselves, and Ixmucane, Humanity’s Corn Grandmother, assures the recurring cycle.

#### 2.4 *The Playing and the Dancing-Gaming with Evil.*

Women contradict and reinterpret male decrees in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. Like mother like child, so children subvert/reinterpret Divine “adult” orders. In most epics (of most cultures) adult men perform the truly heroic acts. The *PV* and the *HM* speak of adult children whose lineage defines them as “lesser” and “younger” deities; nonetheless, in their role as offspring, the child perfects their forbears’ incomplete works, or, in Ixq’iq’s case, jettisons them entirely. Mayan and Andean universes present an unfinished spiritual opus, an ongoing Creation. As such, the second generation’s children-Ixq’iq’s Twins, Paria Caca’s son/sons-triumph through reasoned and creative mischief. This is not the Biblical/Koranic universe of “good” and “complete” worlds. In Mayab and the Andes, upper, lower and middle worlds are askew.

In Chapter 5 of the *HM* Huatyacuri, one of Paria Caca’s sons improves upon his father’s questionable luck with women. By doing so, he reveals the duplicity of a false god-leader, Tamta Namca, whose daughter Huatyacuri marries. Children are also the pivotal figures of the *PV*: Hunahpu and Ixbalamque are first introduced as sons of Lady Blood Moon and the sacrificed ball-player One Hunahpu, fused with his twin and alter ego, Seven Hunahpu. The new Twins revenge their father’s murder by sacrifice at the hands of the Xibalbans, revealing them as false god-leaders; Huatyacuri unmasks Tamta Namca as the same. By overthrowing bluffing impostors, Huatyacuri and the Twins facilitate the ongoing business of Creation.

In Andean and Maya cosmologies, Creation is not viewed as a fait accompli, but as a revolving web of life in which godly and human actions alter the nature of the universe.<sup>127</sup> The protagonists of the *PV* and the *HM* play games with Evil to keep the Universe spinning, employing laughter, dancing, and sport. Ludic and youthful aspects of performance are utilized in earnest, because the lives of the protagonists and of the Universe itself dangle in the balance.

Music and dance instill cosmic order where chaos reigns. Dance does not just entertain; as in Hindu tradition, dance upholds the pillars of Creation with its movements and its turnings. Matthew Looper notes: “For Hindus as among the Maya, dance is a fundamental form of worship” (*To Be Like Gods: Dance in Ancient Maya Civilization* 83). Dance worships the deities, and elevates the dancer into a form of co-creator who sustains the universe, together with the gods. In Quechua, the word “taqui” translates alternately as music and dance, or as prayer.<sup>128</sup> What the Europeans saw as Andean “diabolical” frenzy in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century was a choreographed form of religious devotion to their original pre-Incan gods.<sup>129</sup> In a similar vein, the Mayas view dance as a form of spiritual sculpture, in which forces of good and evil are realigned and reaffirmed within the cosmic scheme. Thus the dance-dramas of the Maya, beginning in the late post-Classic period (1400 ACE-), became a form of sacral theatre after the Spanish Conquest. The choreographers of the dance-dramas, the Mayan/Toltec *toj* lineage, were revered as both lords *and* priests. (Van Akkeren, “Getting Acquainted with the Pipils”

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<sup>127</sup> Lakota Sioux teacher Frank Menusan emphasizes the web-like nature and inter-connectedness of the weaving of Creation among certain Native American cultures. Weaving can transform the essence of Creation. The misnomer *Dream catcher*, applied to Sioux feather hoops hung over the child’s bedside, actually refers to the interdependency of all Creation, rather than functioning as an amulet to rein in nightmares. (Menusan: comments from lectures at NY Open Center, October 2010).

<sup>128</sup> J. Szeminski, in Pease’s edition of Guaman Poma de Ayala, vol. III *Vocabulario y traducciones* 124.

<sup>129</sup> MacCormack 83: “...the leading huacas of the Taqui Onqoy were not the deities of the Inca state, but Titicaca and Pachacamac, followed by the many regional deities of the Andes” (*Religion in the Andes*).

n.p.) In the same vein, Santa Fe's Museum of American Indian Art reminds its visitors that the ancient and modern Indians of the American Southwest spoke of the World Spirit, in its multiple emanations "dancing the world into existence."<sup>130</sup>

Rhythms of dance reverberate throughout the *PV* and the *HM*. Our heroes are always dancing, but not as mere jesters, though they do entertain. Dance in these narratives is an ecstatic form of worship that transcends the cerebral, as does whirling in Sufism. Movement brings the soul into consonance with the sublime. It is also a veiled weapon, a beautiful threat too sophisticated for the villains (Tamta Namca, the Xibalbans) who watch it and do not suspect the incendiary sermon concealed in the art.<sup>131</sup>

Dance is used by the Twins and Huatyacuri to protect themselves in a hostile Universe. Dancing rattles the malevolent forces in the *HM* 5, 58: "As they [the poor man and his wife] entered through the doorway, as they danced to the skunk's drum he'd brought along, the earth of that whole region quaked. With this, he beat them all." Dancing to a skunk's tune, (the skunk being one of the animals that defied Conirraya while he sought for Cavillaca), Huatyacuri and his wife summon up the earthquake, the most powerful force in Nature. Through dance, the Twins unhinge the underworld in the *PV*: "It was only the dance of the Poorwill [bird], the Dance of the Weasel, only Armadillos they danced. Only Swallowing Swords, only Walking on Stilts now they danced. They performed many miracles now. They would set fire to a house, as if they were really burning it, and suddenly bring it back again. Now Xibalba was full of admiration" (*PV* Tedlock 132). The Twins disarticulate and

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<sup>130</sup> The Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, New Mexico, stresses the role of sacred dance as guarantor of the universe among the Native Peoples of the American Southwest. (Author's visit, March 2010).

<sup>131</sup> Re: the use of dance by slaves in Brazil, the movements of the Capoeira duets which signified, to the initiated, the struggle against the slaveholder and imparted concrete instructions on how to battle him. Capoeira is a tangible political manifestation of the seditious meanings of dance during the colonial period.

reassemble life energy in their ballets, embodying animals of land and air, weasels and birds, as they undergo the shamanic rites needed for their victory over the Lords. Their frolicking is a series of “games designed to transmute themselves in animals and to pass into other spaces, as part of their final apotheosis as the Sun and the Moon” (De La Garza. *Sueno y Extasis* 153). Once the Twins become the sun and the moon, they are incorporated into the Cosmos as unchallenged protectors of life and the cosmic cycles.

Dance in this literature is not recreational aesthetics. It underlies the equilibrium of the Universe, re-consecrating Creation and distancing it from the Evil, as inherent as good in the web of being. The Maya continued to perform their dances during the colonial period and afterwards, mocking the prohibitions Hispanic culture imposed on them. In colonial Guatemala, they did so quite openly: “According to their own accounts, the Dominicans claimed great success in this enterprise, stating that the dances were entirely Catholic. However, the non-religious chronicler Francisco Fuentes y Guzman intimates that not only were prohibited pre-Hispanic dances being held, but that the friars could not even understand the words uttered during the performance” (Looper 190).

Dance also provided a tableau for class conflict. Rivals joust over economics: Tamta Namca’s family’s opulence, vs. Huatyacuri’s indigence. Within Tamta Namca’s village, his “lacta,” he is a self-proclaimed god, doubting that the vagabond Huatyacuri can cure him. Huatyacuri believes that the ailment is unworthy of a god, and he tells Tamta Namca so in the *HM* 5, 57: “And as for you, you’re not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn’t be sick.” In Andean tradition, physical dis-ease signals spiritual imbalance, evident in Tamta Namca’s case because he impersonates divinity rather than incarnating it. Huatyacuri,

the poor “potato eater,” cures Tamta Namca.<sup>132</sup> But even this does not placate his irksome in-laws, and Huatyacuri is then summoned to a dancing duel by his elitist brother-in-law: (*HM* 5, 56): “How dare he join her, the sister in law of such a powerful man as me, to a nobody like that?” Marginal notes of the *HM* hint at the five armed sex goddess Chaupi Namca as a candidate for the unnamed woman in the text “We don’t know this young woman’s name. But later on they called her Chaupi Namca” (*HM* 5, 56). Like Lilith, unmentioned in Genesis but only described in the Cabala, Chaupi Namca enters the in-between spaces. Appropriate, as her name in Quechua is literally “the cross-roads.”

Huatyacuri and his new wife accept the challenge. That Tamta Namca’s daughter (maybe Chaupi Namca?) should marry Huatyacuri, constitutes another Ixqiq-like rebellion against paternal authority. In the Andean context of tightly woven kinship groups, the rebellion is shocking.<sup>133</sup> Unexpectedly, Tamta Namca’s family’s privilege comes undone through the dance which his daughter joins, against him and with Huatyacuri. Interclass feuding is thus given form through the unnamed woman’s willingness to dance against her lineage as she does in *HM* 5, 58: “The rich man was the first to dance in the contest. His wives, who numbered almost two hundred, danced along with him, and after they were done the poor man entered by himself, with only his wife, just the two of them.” Class superiority is undone through performed movements in a duet of hierarchy. Huatyacuri celebrates his victory in a living relationship with his wife, improving upon his father’s trajectory: Paria Caca’s separation from Choque Suso, transformed into an impenetrable (for Paria Caca) *huaca*.

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<sup>132</sup> Salomon and Urioste define *huatya* as “potatoes baked in an earthen pit.” These potatoes “were and are characteristic food of high altitude peasants who cook outdoor meals while harvesting tubers on the high slopes” (*HM* note 93, p. 55).

<sup>133</sup> In this respect, as Nicolas Beauclair notes (2005, 82) *Huarochiri* typifies the male-female “complementarity” (*Masantin/Yanantin*) in Yunca and Yauyo societies. This distances the text from Spanish or Incan influence, both of which were characterized by paternalistic theocracy.

Dance continues on the ball court in the *PV*. The sport and dance of the Hero Twins, which commenced with their unfortunate fathers, is re-engraved in the form of a Divine Migraine on the heads of Xibalba: “ ‘What’s happening on the face of the earth? They’re just stomping and shouting. They should be summoned to play ball here. We’ll defeat them, since we get no deference from them. They show no respect, nor do they have any shame. They’re really determined to run right over us!’” (*PV* Tedlock 91). The Twins’ stomping and cavorting goads their antagonists into inviting them down to the netherworld to “play” the heavy rubber-ball game, *Ox Kin Tok*, where the ball represented Venus, the sky-light that must not die. Mesoamericans played the game for 2,000 years, extending as far north as the Hohokam region of Arizona (100-1450 ACE). In replicating the cycles of Venus the game determined the initiation and cessation of Mayan city states’ hostilities. For the Maya it represented the victory of the Twins over the Xibalbans, in the reappearance of Venus as evening star after its disappearance as morning star. Aveni (*Sky Watchers of the Ancient World* 86) notes that heliacal risings of Venus were connected to “certain perils,” hence this is not a stereotyped “light over darkness motif.” The victory is seen in the continuation of all the cycles, light and dark, astronomically marked by Venus’ appearance and disappearance behind the sun and before it in its synodic year. Ball-game motifs, including the rabbit that confounds the Xibalbans in the ball-game, were lauded in art for 1,000 years before the *PV* was transcribed in the Latin alphabet.<sup>134</sup>

The Twins “play” with a murderous team that recognizes no rules. Ever their mother’s sons, the second pair of Twins does not fall prey to the Xibalbans, who had butchered their

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<sup>134</sup> Erik Velazquez Garcia (“Reflections...” 10-13), in his analysis of the so-called Princeton Vessel, remarks on pictorial elements, such as the Twin’s rabbit insulting one of the gods, (God L) whose identification with the *Popul Vuh* is indisputable. Since the Princeton vessel dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, the stories had to have been well-established long before that, with their appearance on a royal vessel marking them as recognizable and “iconic”.



fathers. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, and then strung up their merged head in a calabash, or by some accounts, a cacao Tree. Ixq'iq approached this Tree as eagerly as Eve in the Garden, but with less repentance afterwards. "The state of the tree loomed large in their thoughts, because it came about at the same time the head of One Hunahpu was put in the fork. The Xibalbans said among themselves: 'No one is to pick the fruit, nor is anyone to go beneath the tree... A maiden heard about it...'" (PV Tedlock 98). The latter believe that they will bludgeon these children as they did their father(s), and as the Xibalbans mistakenly assume that they did with Ixq'iq. "And then they were sacrificed and buried. They [One and Seven Hunahpu] were buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, as it is called" (PV Tedlock 97).

Huatyacuri and the Twins dance in opposition to the more "adult" and authoritarian antagonists, the first and older gods. Fortunately for the "children," these satanic grown-ups are blind to the younger generation's choreography. But the rebels' parents (One and Seven Hunahpu; Paria Caca) are present spiritually in their children's stratagems. Sometimes they are present physically as well, as when Paria Caca gifts Huatyacuri with the red puma of the fountain, the dancing partner whose magic creates the "many colored rainbow" in the sky. That rainbow illuminates and ennobles the sacred scenery of the *Manuscript*, as in *HM* 5, 58: "He danced. And while he was dancing in that red puma, a rainbow appeared in the sky, like the rainbow that appears in the sky today."<sup>135</sup> In the shamanic traditions of the Andes, collected in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century by anthropologist Juan Nunez del Prado, the rainbow represents the totality of colors associated with energetic centers, ("*nawi*") in the body; for the Aymara, the colors of the quipu cords mimic the rainbow. Inca interpretations of the rainbow/serpent

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<sup>135</sup> The joyful nature of the rainbow in the *HM* sets it apart from Incan legend, where the appearance of the *k'uychi*, the many-colored rainbow, is associated with venomous serpents, disease, and bad fortune. Although Martin de Murua does mention the rainbow as a good augury in the founding of Cuzco, that detail may be a Christianized insertion into an Incan narrative, echoing God's promise to Noah as embodied in the post-Deluge rainbow.

augured calamity, described by MacCormack (*Religion in the Andes* 292), as “forces of meteorological imbalance and war.”

The Twins, unable to rely on their fathers for help as does Huatyacuri, engineer their performance on the ball-field so that the severed head of their progenitor One and Seven Hunahpu can be restored, resurrecting their male forbear(s). The Twins’ sojourn in the Underworld completes their mother’s odyssey and redeems their father’s death. Choreography is the key here: the danced rebellions in the *PV* and the *HM* are pre-planned. For the Twins and Huatyacuri, successful transformations are strategized and implemented to perfection.

The Twins consort with assorted animals, and Huatyacuri cures his father in law’s ailment, by deciphering the meaning of certain fauna (*HM* 5, 57): “As for what’s eating you, it’s the two snakes that dwell on top of this magnificent house of yours. And there’s a toad too, a two-headed one, that lives under your grinding stone.” His godlike stature toppled, Tamta Namca is a human and de-masculinized cuckold. Working with nature (as a shaman must do) Huatyacuri exposes Tamta Namca’s wife’s infidelity through erotic totems: snakes and double-headed toads. These are animals whose visual associations, two-headedness equaling two-facedness, span continents.

Huatyacuri’s success in “reading” the animal’s signs enrages his pompous brother-in-law all the more. He vows in the *HM* 5, 57: “I’ll bring deep shame on that beggar man... And so one day the man challenged him [Huatyacuri], saying, ‘Brother, let’s have it out in a contest, whatever kind. How dare a nobody like you marry the sister in law of a powerful man like me?’ ” The dancing tournament is designed to avert the shame implied by a ragged addition to Tamta Namca’s well-off family. The brother in law’s victory over Huatyacuri appears inevitable: a ceremonial validation of the existing order. Contrary to the aristocrats’

expectations, Paria Caca's son triumphs over him, just as Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque do on the ball courts of Xibalba with their wealthier and better-established Lords. Upsets in these "games" are caused by the least likely of players, the socially marginalized and the weak.

Majesty is burlesqued in a celestial uprising by the dancing of the Twins and Huatyacuri. They wreak havoc on the hosts who have, not so graciously, invited them to the ball: "And after that, news of their dances came to the ears of the lords, One and Seven Death. When they heard it they said: 'Who are these two vagabonds? Are they really such a delight? And is their dancing that pretty? They do everything!' they said. An account of them had reached the lords. It sounded delightful, so then they entreated their messengers that they must come" (*PV* Tedlock 132).

Like Shiva's movements in Hinduism, the "dance" encompasses all aspects of existence. It is building the family home and taking it down; it is a belligerent waltz whose message is a duet, a tinku in Andean terms, of unrelenting conflict. Re: "Likewise, Huatyacuri won at roofing the house. All the guanacos and vicunas brought his thatching straw. As for the other man, while his materials were being transported on llamas, Huatya Curi availed himself of a bobcat's help. He lay in ambush for them by a cliff, stampeded them, and destroyed them by making them fall over it. By this trick, he won again" (*HM* 5, 59). Unlike other folktales which extoll entry into a system of class stratification, (e.g.: *Cinderella*) these stories overturn a brutal order based on kinship bonds. In fact, families are de-romanticized in the *PV* and the *HM*. Ixqiq survives an attempted infanticide, (one could hardly call her father "paternal" in an endearing way) and Huatyacuri is publicly humiliated by his father in law. Andean and Mayan storytelling illustrates the breakdown of family mechanisms in even the most clan-based society.

Individual variance alters attitudes in these foundational myths. Families include infernal husbands and adulterous wives. Women and children (Ixqiq, Chaupi Namca, Choque Suso), always the most disempowered, gainsay blind obedience. When love and loyalty is demonstrated, as the Twins do with their parents and as Huatyacuri does with Paria Caca, they are a result of choice and not of kinship-imposed dictates.

Huatyacuri and the Twins call their adversaries' bluff, entering their respective play-based balletic ordeals with humor, and a minimum of drama. *HM 5, 57* describes Huatyacuri's matter-of-fact consent to the dancing tournament, and his godly father's matter-of-fact aid: "The poor man agreed, and went to inform his father Paria Caca...and said, 'This is how he spoke to me.' 'Very well then. Whatever he tells you, come to me right away,' his father replied." And the *Popul Vuh* supplies the Twins with hilarious, morbid stage directions from the Xibalbans, to which the Twins assent, like Huatyacuri, in a matter of fact way: " 'Just dance this way: first you'll dance to sacrifice yourselves, you'll set fire to my house after that, you'll act out all the things you know. We want to be entertained' " (*PV* Tedlock 134). Now no longer able to instill fear, Evil cannibalizes itself. The "games" are metaphysical jousts in which rules are rewritten by a younger generation, unseating the villainous first authors.

One of the strangest props in these scenes of sporting and dancing is the "dead guanaco" in *HM 5, 58*:

His father Paria Caca advised him, 'Go to that mountain over there. There you'll pretend to be a guanaco and lie down as if dead. Early in the morning a fox with his skunk wife will come there to see me. They'll bring along their maize-beer in a long-necked jar, and they'll also bring along their jar. When they spot you, a dead guanaco, they'll set their things on the ground, and as soon as the fox puts down his panpipes they'll start to eat you. Then turn back into a man, scream so loud it hurts their ears, and run away. When they scamper off forgetting their possessions, you'll take them and go to the contest.'

During this performance, Huatyacuri bewilders his animal spectators via a shamanic transference of energy that takes the form of a dead animal-cum-live human. Contemporary Andean villagers in their agricultural festivities designate a chief dancer to wear the skins of those creatures that are, as Charles Grob describes, “the shamanic spirit animals that may assist him in his journeys and battles in the supernatural realm.”<sup>136</sup> Like an expert shaman, Huatyacuri not only dresses in the skins of his helpers; he merges with them. This is role embodiment, not mere shape-shifting. Just as comfortable with staring death in the face as are the Mayan boys, Huatyacuri merges with the cadaver of the guanaco and resurrects himself. His ostentatious brother-in-law, in comparison, possesses domesticated llama livestock, which once dead, cannot be revived, nor can their sumptuary value. (In pre-Conquest times, wealth was calculated in the Andes on the basis of llamas and their accompanying textile goods, not gold).<sup>137</sup>

More unnerving than the animal hides of *Huarochiri* is the *Popul Vuh*'s hollowed skull ball that does not bounce: “When it was sent off by Xibalba, the ball was stopped by Hunahpu’s yoke. And then, while Xibalba watched, the White Dagger came out from inside the ball. It went clattering, twisting all over the floor of the court. ‘What’s that!’ said Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. ‘Death is the only thing you want for us!’ ” (*PV* Tedlock 120).

Whereas Huatyacuri conjures an illusion during his performance, (the live human/dead animal synthesis), the Hero Twins shatter a cultural practice during *their* performance: the human sacrifice that accompanied the losers of the sacred ball-game. Not for nothing do Classic period ceramic vases from Guatemala (c.200-900 ACE) show the Twins brandishing

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<sup>136</sup> Metzner 77.

<sup>137</sup> This fact is underlined in the fourth floor of the Denver Art Museum, in that section of their Pre-Columbian Indian collection which focuses on the values and uses of material culture and art in the Incas’ world.

the skull-ball in the faces of their Xibalban adversaries. One can trace the post-Classic, post sacrifice attitude of the *Popul Vuh* back far earlier than the Colonial transcription of the text.<sup>138</sup> Far from being repulsed by the hideous prop of the skull-ball, they embrace it. All things considered, it is their father's head, that which spat into Ixq'iq's hand and gave them life.<sup>139</sup>

The Hero Twins endure the sadistic mimesis of their father's death in the "ball" of the Xibalbans by reacting with disarming calmness. They agree to play but leave the Underworld team without their advantage of fear: "'Well, this is the one we should put in play, here's our rubber ball,' said the Xibalbans. 'No thanks. This is the one to put in, here's ours,' said the boys. 'No it's not. This is the one we should put in,' the Xibalbans said again. 'Very well,' said the boys. 'After all, it's just a decorated one,' said the Xibalbans. 'Oh no it's not. It's just a skull, we say in return,' said the boys" (*PV* Tedlock 120) The Twins turn that image of horror, the fleshless skull of their progenitor and the knife that was destined to murder their mother, into a lethal weapon that will avenge their wronged parents: "And this is what had been ordained for the boys: that they should have died right away, right there, defeated by that knife. But it wasn't like that. Instead, Xibalba was again defeated by the boys" (*PV* Tedlock 121).

By experiencing death, Huatyacuri and the Twins experience the shaman's flexible reality. They undergo a temporary demise with their "eyes wide open," a term used by Mayan and Andean shamans to denote the choice of a good death, one that comes with the awareness and choice to cross over to another phase of being. Huatyacuri and the Hero Twins face the worst consequences because they do so aware of the temporality of the life-death dance. They

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<sup>138</sup> Archaeologist Arthur Demarest notes that the Maya "loss of faith" in their leaders was the leading factor in the collapse of Classic Period civilization, an observation which supports a longer tradition of Mayan rebellion.

<sup>139</sup> The Charlotte Mint Museum of North Carolina, visited by this author in December 2011, houses a superb collection of Late Classic Mayan cups and vases (600-900 ACE) from Guatemala in the Robicsek Galleries of Pre Columbian Art, which feature the images of the Twins cavorting with the skull-ball.

cavort with death and seduce it until it loses its power to spell-bind them or paralyze them emotionally. We the readers rejoice with the antics of would-be victims who outwit their executioners. The texts facilitate this laughter, because corn sprouts anew, and flood waters subside... eventually. Mosaics morph into kaleidoscopes, with birth and death symbiotic states of being. If one is convinced of the tangibility of Spirit, one does not recoil in horror when encountering the markers of physical death: the mutilated parent's skull, the decaying guanaco skin. Even dismemberment may be viewed as a shamanic initiation rite, a semiotic of disarticulation which is superseded by spiritual wholeness, obtained after an ordeal. Mercedes de la Garza (*Sueno y Extasis* 165) posits a shamanic reading of dismemberment scenes on Classic Period Mayan vases, but this is controversial. Huatyacuri and the Hero Twins keep the universe on its axis through their subversive dance and play. They make Death a partner, not a consequence of their sport, and Death for once behaves itself.

Cosmic games in the *PV* are the counter-theatre to Aztec war-rituals. There, skulls of enemy warriors were displayed on long bars in the *tzompantli*, the skull-racks that reinforced Nahua imperial aims. Since very recent (March 2014) excavations in Teotihuacan have uncovered the remains of sacrificed Mayan prisoners of war, Mayan memories of Mexican valley militarism would have been long, and bitter. The *HM* was a Yunca/Yauyo counter-theatre too, mocking Inca omnipotence by minimalizing and ridiculing Cuzco's presence. Because the dates of our epics' colonial editing ranged from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, they must be seen also as counter-theatre to the Spanish use of public death and torture as "deterrents." The new theatre featured the hangings of Mayan "heretics" from the 1560's onwards; the dismemberment of Andean insurgents in the clergy's idolatry "extirpation campaigns" from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and of course, the circus-like atmosphere that

surrounded the burnings of live human subjects in the “auto-da-fe,” since any Indian “suspected” of “returning” to his/her original faith could be remanded to the Inquisition. The *PV* and the *HM* provide a rebuttal to the theatre of political control that successive imperialisms-Aztec, Inca, and European-had installed.

The voice of the true authors of the *PV* and the *HM* remains anonymous, though not remote. In the colonial American world, some had begun to question notions of Conquest and Empire, and angry voices were audible. If those voices belonged to the dominant Hispano-Luso caste (Las Casas in the 16<sup>th</sup> century; Antonio da Vieira en the 17<sup>th</sup>) their diatribes could be identified. But if those voices were Amerindian or Mestizo, they were heard clandestinely, “playfully,” between the lines. Like Xibalba’s ball court, this play was a grave matter.

More than ludic reincarnations of their ancestors, Huatyacuri and the Hero Twins are manifestations of their parents’ aspirations. Reminiscences of pre-Colombian historical personages here may predate the transcription of the epics, as neither the *HM* nor the *PV* hews to a strictly chronological framework. Instead, ethical truths are recounted in the manner most accessible to the reader/listener. The messages that the characters convey matter more than their date of birth/death/rebirth on the material plane. Huatyacuri appears before his father Paria Caca is born; the Hero Twins father and uncle, One and Seven Hunahpu, are fused into one personage. Genealogy unravels. Lacandon Mayan lore imagined Venus as piercing the sky with its morning star arrows; and Venus, after a disappearance, reappears as the evening star, melding identities. Chronology is at best a secondary affair between rebirths.

### *2.5 Differing and Multiple Modes of Being*



Dennis Tedlock detected the merging of characters within the parameters of the *Popul Vuh*'s mythical time. An earlier pair of twins is said to be the "fathers" of the Hero Twins.<sup>140</sup> That initial pair of twins, One and Seven Hunahpu, succumb to fear in Xibalba, and are decapitated by the Lords. In death they combine to become one figure. Their union is represented by the icon of One Hunahpu's head, hidden among the gourds of the calabash (or by some interpretations, the chocolate tree), ready to fecundate Ixq'iq. Following the victory of their Twin descendants, One and Seven Hunahpu are apotheosized and revived in one unitary body. Note the passage from the plural *fathers* to the singular noun *father*: "And the first to die, a long time before, had been their **fathers**, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. And they saw the face of their father again, there in Xibalba. Their **father** spoke to them again when they had defeated Xibalba" (*PV* Tedlock 140).

Freud did not analyze the *Popul Vuh*, but his axiom that "the child is father to the man" reverberates in the *PV* metaphorically. That dictum is embodied literally in *Huarochiri*, as when Huatyacuri's discovers his quintuple bird-father Paria Caca, still un-hatched: "After Tamta Namca's recovery, on the day that had been foretold, Huatya Curi went for the first time to Condor Coto mountain. It was there that the one called Paria Caca dwelled in the form of five eggs" (*HM* 5, 57). Existence assumes many forms, double and quintuple, and the personages of the texts use as many personalities as they need. *Huarochiri* varies the numeration of Paria Caca constantly, from the unitary male figure who swoons for Choque Suso, to the five-fold brothers of Chapter 8, playing their thunderous "ball-game"<sup>141</sup> when

<sup>140</sup> *PV* Tedlock Intro 33.

<sup>141</sup> The ludic and the dramatic are intertwined in the *HM* and the *PV*: the heroes are "innocently" playing ball, and continue to do so, while receiving news-such as the summons from Xibalba, or having encounters-such as the father carrying his son to Huallallo, that will change the course of their lives and hence, of the universe itself. They are clear examples of what Western literature would term "black humor."

they/he have their/his encounter with the father who is bringing his son as a child-sacrifice for Huallallo.

Huatyacuri “discovers” his unborn father after he has healed Tamta Namca and become an adult. Having reached maturity, he is now capable of perceiving his father in a child-manifestation, something which a dependent offspring who needs an omnipotent parent can never do. While not present at his/their parent’s birth as Huatyacuri was, the Twins cause their father(s) to be reborn on the physical plane. His rebirth is the final step on the road forged with the intervention of the Lady Ixqiq, the woman who faked her own intended sacrifice, and carried the seed of her Xibalban father’s nemesis: the sacrificed One (and Seven) Hunahpu. Her ascension from Xibalba to the Middle World forms the bridge between multiple mothers, fathers and sons. Once that seed is perfected in the personages of the Hero Twins, the Two can engineer their father’s rebirth in, and liberation from, Xibalba. “And here their father is put back together by them. They put Seven Hunahpu back together” (*PV* Tedlock 141).

Their resurrection of the first Hunahpu(s) configures victory on two counts. First, the Twins have surpassed their forbears, surviving Xibalba’s trials. Note their use of the word *little* to depict what the Xibalbans supposed to be a weaker and inexperienced younger generation:

“ ‘Here we are, we are *little* Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque by name. And these are our fathers, the ones you killed: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name. And we are here to clear the road of the torments and troubles of our fathers. And so we have suffered all the troubles you’ve caused us. And so we are putting an end to all of you’ ” (*PV* Tedlock 138). As a result of the Twins’ uprising against the Lords, Death loses its finality, and the cycle of life-death-rebirth, the corn cycle, is consecrated for all time. (Classic period Mayan art always

pictured the boys resurrecting their merged father, One and Seven Hunahpu as, of course, the Corn God).

Secondly, the Twins affirm an unbreakable and imperfect filial love. As the *PV* reminds us, their recreation/resurrection of their father is flawed: "...they went to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice to put him together. He had wanted his face to become just as it was, but when he was asked to name everything, and once he had found the name of the mouth, the nose, the eyes of his face, there was very little else to be said. Although his mouth could not name the names of his former parts, he had at least spoken again" (*PV* Tedlock 141).

The inability of their father(s) to "name the names of his former parts" evokes the broken yet ongoing communication between parents and children at all phases of being, the living and the dead both present. The unfinished speech of One/Seven Hunahpu indicates a fragmented discourse between parents and children, which continues in hearts and minds beyond death. "You will be prayed to here,' his sons told him, and his heart was comforted. 'You will be the first resort, and you will be the first to have your day kept by those who will be born in the light, begotten in the light. Your name will not be lost. So be it,' they told their father when they comforted his heart" (*PV* Tedlock 141). Knowing that his "name will not be lost" is the most poignant promise children can make to their parents: the oath of conscious memory, the "naming" of their ancestry for posterity.

The Twins boast mestizo ancestry. Their father(s), like the corn they embody, were of the earth; their mother was a renegade from Xibalba. Blending/doubling is the key to the Twins' wizardry. Their double aspect allows the boys to question and parody the worldly/under worldly nature which they share. Twins are considered wizards among the Hopi Indians, and are the reincarnations of the "koshare" (clowns) who defied a primeval evil

sorcerer, a role shared with their Mayan fellows. In the Andes, quintuple and double births are also signs of complementarity and procreation. Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca, god of the rains and goddess of sex and procreation, are portrayed as brother and sister, each of whom in turn incarnate themselves in five (sometimes) separate manifestations: “Chaupi Namca was said to be made up of five persons, the Checa say” (*HM* 13, 85). Chapter 8 of *Huarochiri* specifies that Paria Caca was “the five persons who composed him” (*HM* 6, 6), and Chapter 13 of the epic explicitly states that Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca may have been direct siblings. This belief in the fraternal pairing of the fertility god and goddess as children of older sky-gods was still in evidence in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Father Avila’s informants first brought him the legends of Huarochiri. In Chapter 13 we read: “When the people of Mama are questioned today about the huaca Chaupi Namca, they tell a different story. The story told by them is like this. They say that in very early times, there was a huaca called Hanan Maccla. Her husband was the Sun. Their children were Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca. Chaupi Namca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men” (*HM* 84). Multiple births recreate Creation each time that they occur.

Whereas Andean “doublings” has a gender-marked nature, with Paria Caca making men and Chaupi Namca making women, double births in Mayan tradition attest to the blending of antagonistic energies in the universe. By sharing the facets of Underworld and of our Middle World, Hunahpu and Ixbalamque are better-equipped to beat their adversaries, having acquired techniques from both parts. Cast as reflecting mirrors, the Hero Twins deflect Evil because they too have their origin in Xibalba. In Andean shamanic terms, they recognize their own “shadow.”

Paria Caca partakes of this multiplicity. He is hatched, dinosaur like, from five eggs.<sup>142</sup> He and his four brothers live, play and fight sometimes alone and sometimes as one. In unison, their (his) antics are responsible for climatic change. Thor swings his hammer in Scandinavia and that is the lightning; in the Southern Cone, Paria Caca swings his/their *bola/bolas*, the sling shot of rope Gordon Brotherston notes that South American Indian genesis myths suggest a dinosaur origin for heroes, who come from “eggs, whether of the cold-blooded or hot-blooded variety.” [My translation]. (*La America Indigena* 332-333) and rock which, when hurled by human beings, captures animals (the *boleadora* of Patagonian hunters). When used by gods, the *boleadora* flashes in the sky as lightning. Note the interchangeability of *he* and *they* in the following passage, observed by Jorge Urioste in the original Quechua and preserved by Frank Salomon in his English translation: “When *they* [the five Paria Cacas] swung their *bolas*, that region got intensely cold, and hail fell upon the ground where *he* played” (*HM* 8, 66). [italics mine] Our personalities have many masks, and we are different people in different situations; Paria Caca is one in a certain circumstances (when he courts Choque Suso) and five in others (when he gears up to battle the monstrous Huallalu).

There is continuity, and Paria Caca’s sons, whatever their different personalities and fates, retain their father’s Yauyo penchant for alluring Yunca woman.<sup>143</sup> Proof is the story of Tutayquiri, whose career as Yauyo Conquistador of the Yunca peoples was cut short by romance: “Once more it was Tutayquiri who led the way on the descent. One of Choque Suso’s sisters waited for him in her field thinking to beguile him by showing off her private parts and

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<sup>142</sup> Gordon Brotherston notes that South American Indian genesis myths suggest a dinosaur origin for heroes, who come from “eggs, whether of the cold-blooded or hot-blooded variety” (*La America Indigena* 332-333).

<sup>143</sup> Chapter 6 of the *HM*, according to Gerald Taylor (1987) makes it clear that Choque Sosa, and hence her siblings, are of Yunca origin. See: p. 131, verse 43. Tutayquiri, as one of the invading Yauyo settlers, falls in love with Choque Sosa’s sister. Tutayquiri forms a lasting marital bond, like his brother Huatyacuri, and unlike their father Paria Caca.

her breasts. ‘Rest a while, sir; have a little sip of this maize beer and a taste of this ticti’<sup>144</sup>, she said. At that moment, in that way, he fell behind. When they saw him do that, his older brothers likewise stayed behind, carrying their conquest only as far as the place called Pacha Marca in Lower Allauca” (*HM* 12, 83).

The intervention of Choque Suso’s sexy sister provides a humorous reference, placing female seduction over masculine bluster. Tutayquiri is defeated, but one doubts whether he regrets his fate, since his brothers are so eager to follow his (and Paria Caca’s) example with Choque Suso’s siblings.

Huatyacuri, the most defined of Paria Caca’s offspring in the *Manuscrito*, inherited his forbear’s love of gaming with Evil, his Evil being Tamta Namca. Before Paria Caca is revealed on the human plane in his quintuple selves, Huatyacuri resonates with his father’s characteristics, which become clear to us, the readers (and before Spanish or Inca conquests, to the worshippers) in subsequent chapters of the *HM*. Huatyacuri debuts in Chapter 5 of the *HM*, while his father’s heroic cycle commences later, in Chapter 8. The epic of Paria Caca reaches its culmination in Chapter 17, long after his son’s exploits have been recounted in Chapter 6. As progenitor, the Yauyo god is lauded over the more powerful Incas: “From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tahuantin Suyu” (*HM* 94).<sup>145</sup> Historically, the Incas are placed in their recent, and lesser, context.

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<sup>144</sup> Ticti is the residue of Andean maize beer, fermented and prepared as a special drink for ceremonial occasions.

<sup>145</sup> Frank Salomon observes that “Tahuantin Suyu ‘fourfold domain’ was the Inca name of the Inca Empire. Perhaps this passage claims for Paria Caca priority over the Incas in creating an all-Andean collectivity...” (*HM* note 411, p.94) But Salomon also allows for the possibility that the phrase may non-politically refer to the entire earth.

In Mayan and Andean narratives, incompleteness is the source of future rebellion. Huatyacuri follows in his father's footsteps before Paria Caca's birth as five separate/conjoined entities.<sup>146</sup> Though there is as yet no visible trail between father and son, Huatyacuri perceives it with second sight, and he follows it. The *Popul Vuh*, in like fashion, was gifted as a sight-granting instrument to humanity, aiding in the reconstruction of the vision that the gods snatched from us: "We shall bring it out now because there is no longer a place to see it, a Council Book, a place to see The Light That Came from Beside the Sea, the account of Our Place in the Shadows, a place to see The Dawn of Life, as it is called. There is the original book and the ancient writing, but the one who reads it and assesses it has a hidden identity" (*PV* Tedlock 63). The "light that came from beside the sea" enabled the Maya to re-envision their world on a new mental plane, with a new alphabet, after colonial authorities had burned the codices that preceded the book.

*Huarochiri*, yanked from Andean oral tradition and forcibly re-envisioned in the Latin alphabet, retained, like the *PV*, a pre-Conquest consciousness coupled with awareness of colonial reality. *Pacha* is the Andean term which encompasses our world, as well as the space, time, and thought in which it exists. It unifies and interweaves all events in middle, upper, and inner worlds (Hanan Pacha, Kay Pacha, and Urqu Pacha) so that Huatyacuri need not appear *a posteriori* in relation to Paria Caca, though Huatyacuri precedes him in the narrative. Huatyacuri co-exists with, and sometimes antecedes, his godly father. For the shaman, the three *pachas* are permeable, and all thoughts that configure the *pacha* co-exist in benevolent

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<sup>146</sup> If we view Paria Caca's five selves as five different stages of perception, we can note a certain similarity with Hindu thought, which enumerates five sheaths of being—emotional, sensorial, spiritual, physical, transcendent—as stages of development which can co-exist, or not, simultaneously, within a single being.

and malevolent aspects in all three Worlds. This is the Andean *tinku*, an agonistic give and take of forces that emphasizes duality and change.<sup>147</sup>

The son Huatyacuri's narrative antecedes Paria Caca's deeds in the *HM*, since human beings will more easily *digest* Huatyacuri's adventures before they perceive Paria Caca's apocalyptic contest with Huallallo. There is no arbitrariness in the placing of these chapters in the *HM*. Huatyacuri's dancing duel with his brother in law, and his earlier bout with Tamta Namca, pre-figure in scale and importance the more grandiose confrontation between the "five Paria Cacas" and Huallallo Caruinchu in Chapters 8 and 17 of the *HM*. Karl Zimmerer remarks that the "...demise of Tamta Namca sets the stage for the ascendance of Paria Caca, Huatyacuri's father, who emerges as the chief Andean deity. Huatyacuri's existence is earthly yet linked to his supernatural lineage" (Zimmerer. "The Indigenous Andean Concept of Kawsay" 600). Though he follows Paria Caca chronologically, Huatyacuri's particular actions foreshadow Paria Caca's later feats, which have a greater reach for humanity.

Supernatural events unfold according to their own reasoning. Chronology bows to moral exigency, obliging the text to transmit knowledge as it is best acquired by human beings. Before we delve into Paria Caca's bout with the cannibal god, we (the readers, the listeners) should prepare for it on a lesser scale, beginning with Huatyacuri's tale. Without a doubt, Huatyacuri and his pompous brother in law are less intimidating than the later battle waged over human sacrifice. Huallallo and Paria Caca fight in an earlier time, but they appear in subsequent chapters. Values are assimilated in the *HM* according to importance, not diatonic order.

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<sup>147</sup> Re: Pinkson, T.S.: "...into the mountains outside of Cuzco...the shaman carefully sets up his mesa, an altar of sacred power objects. On one side of the altar were the 'tools of light,' on the other side were the 'tools of darkness.' In the middle were the tools that gave him access to whatever side he wanted to work on." (*The Shamanic Wisdom of the Huichol* 13).



Before we proceed to a titanic showdown, Huatyacuri confronts Evil within the matrix of kinship. He embarrasses his future father in law and shames him into confessing that he, Tamta Namca, is a fraud who has appropriated the mantle of godliness. Huatyacuri reminds Tamta Namca that the latter's prowess pales in comparison to that of his father, Paria Caca: "After you recover, you must worship my father above all things. *He'll be born tomorrow or the day after.* And as for you, you're not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn't be sick" (*HM* 5, 57). [Italics mine].

Prior to watching the dueling gods, we must establish the boundaries of ethics in *Huarochiri*. The narrative prioritizes the gods' importance, Huatya Curi above Tamta Namca, Paria Caca above Huallallo, the delegitimizing of the practice of child sacrifice, according to the chapter progression of the *HM*, communicating ethical debates in the plot that predated Inca and Spanish conquests. Gerald Taylor noted that early Yauyo communities had practiced sporadic child sacrifice in times of drought,<sup>148</sup> and the memory of those rituals would have resonated with the first receptors of the *Huarochiri* teachings. Having begun with Huatyacuri (a genuine god's offspring) vs. Tamta Namca (a false god), we, the readers/listeners, will be ready to witness Huallallo's defeat at the hands of a just god, Paria Caca, in subsequent chapters. The tragedy of sacrifice was still within living memory of the Yauyo areas in colonial times, augmented by the violence of the Inca practice of selecting children to send to the gods, (other children, not their own<sup>149</sup>); and of the Spanish "anti-idolatry" campaigns, with their Huallallo-like fires devouring the old stone huacas and "burning their gods."<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Taylor 2000, 126.

<sup>149</sup> Dean *A Culture of Stone*, 99-101. Re: children sacrificed in their "regional shrines" after ceremonial visit to Cuzco.

<sup>150</sup> MacCormack *Religion*, 407-8. Re: the prayer "Flower of fire, tongue of fire...eat this, drink this, burned Lord..."

Duality, in the Andean *tinku* insinuates that no authority is absolute. Each is balanced with its shadow. The connection that each individual forms with his/her shadow regenerates and destroys simultaneously, as does Shiva's dance in Hinduism. In the *HM*, the "autoritas" of the conceited Inca emperor, Tupac Yupanqui, is humbled by the older Yunca earth god, Pachacamac, who thumbs his nose at Incan sun-god attributions. Yunca earth predominates over haughty Inca sky. In response to the Inca's entreaties for aid against his foes, Pachacamac tells Tupac: "As for me, I didn't reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn't be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent" (*HM* 23, 115). Tupac Yupanqui was the most feared personage in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century Andean world, but in the *HM* the first-born of the Sun God is a laughingstock.

Primogeniture sometime disintegrates altogether, in post-Classic (900 ACE onwards) Mayan philosophy. In Mayan languages, "grandchild" and "grandparent" are identical (*mam*), as language affirms the repetitions of time. Cycles return when the Twins retrace their progenitors' footsteps, but the cycle is broken when they discard the terror of the unknown. "They went down to Xibalba, quickly going down the face of a cliff, and they crossed through the change of canyons. They passed right through the birds, the ones called throng birds, and then they crossed Pus River and Blood River, intended as traps by Xibalba. They did not step in, but simply crossed over on their blowguns, and then they went on over to the Crossroads. But they knew about the roads of Xibalba: Black Road, White Road, Red Road, Green Road" (*PV* Tedlock 116).

The Twins "knew" these divisions, and there is a liberating sense of *deja-vu*: cyclical repetition dislodges the surprise element of horror. Until the end of the colonial period, the

calendar counts of the Mayas, the 365 day secular, solar *haab*, the 260 day sacred, lunar *tzolkin*, and the Long Count, which recorded time in exponential multiples of 400 years, the *baktun*, were still extant. Then they faded, to be revived by the Maya themselves in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The cyclical nature of their calendar counts meant that any Conquest was impermanent. Empires came and went, and so did their religions. Mercedes de la Garza underlines in her compendium *Literatura Maya* (XLIV) “the necessity of understanding and knowing the future, with its base in the cyclical concept of history” [my translation] that characterized Mayan prophecy during the Colonial period. Future calendar cycles assured that the Spanish empire would eventually come crashing down, as had the Aztecs before them, and as had the Mayan princes of their city-states, before that.<sup>151</sup>

Sacrificial/governmental authority is a masquerade. The game endures only if its player-victims are destroyed in the first round, as are the first twins in the *PV*, or the villagers who deliver over their children to Huallallo in the *HM*. Grandmother Ixmucane appears at the beginning to succumb to the game. She weeps when she learns that her Twin grandsons will meet the same lords who killed her sons: “ ‘How can I send for my grandchildren? Isn’t it really Xibalba, just as it was when the messengers came long ago, when their fathers went to die?’ ” And similarly: “Father, won’t that Huallallo Caruinchu be enraged at me?” (*HM* 8, 67), Paria Caca is asked by the forlorn father of a boy destined to be sacrificed to Huallallo. The father’s and the grandmother’s anxiety resonates as that of despairing victims, held hostage by these symbols of authority through physical force (Sacrificers, Inquisitors), the same impostors who hold the Middle World hostage. “Autoritas” is derided in our epics by its representations: a series of malevolent ogres (Huallallo), or deadly clowns (the lords of Xibalba). The

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<sup>151</sup> Most archaeologists (R. Agurcia, H. Escobedo, etc.) place the collapse of the Mayan city states in Guatemala between the close of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup>. This is followed by the rise of the Yucatec polities.

Conquistadors could not find, in Mayab or Huarochiri, the resignation and fatalism that had made the Aztec conquest so much easier by comparison.<sup>152</sup>

After the initial reign of terror of the Sacrificers in the *PV* and the *HM*, the intended victims stop resigning themselves to death, and begin to “rage against the dying of the light.”<sup>153</sup> Undeterred by fear, they fight darkness in all of its avatars. Shamanic tradition teaches that light and darkness are internal qualities and their outward forms, the people themselves, are temporary assemblages of being at a particular point in space and time. In the Abrahamic religions, the law is written in stone, but here even stone, like the Andean *huaca*, can be transformed into something/someone else. Death and stone have no finality; they are just evidences of a larger and unbroken sequence.

In the Aztec *Templo Mayor* in Mexico City, the fleshless image of Mictlantecuhli, the Nahua god of death, has a sobering effect upon the viewer, much as images of medieval European “death’s heads” still unsettle us. Gods as fear-inducing entities are common in Aztec, Inca and monotheistic thought. The *Capac Hucha*, the occasional but terrible human sacrifice which accompanied times of crisis in the Inca Empire, and whose memory persists among the Andean cultures of Huarochiri’s Lurin valley, confirms that Inca sun-worship partook of the worst Aztec-style traits when convenient.

All use of solemnity and fear is removed from the pejorative sketches of the Xibalbans in the *PV*: “Next are the lords named Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe. This is their commission: just to give people a sudden fright whenever they have filth or grime in the doorway of their house, the patio of their house” (*PV* Tedlock 92). In the same vein, the god

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<sup>152</sup> The Incas, it must be said, opposed the Spaniards for centuries, although their elites learned in many ways to collaborate with the new overlords. A good discussion of this is found in Scarlett O’Phelan-Godoy’s writings.

<sup>153</sup> The quote is from one of Dylan Thomas’ best known poems, *Do Not Go Gentle In to That Good Night*.

Conirraya's cowardice when he is confronted by Urpay Huachac, the mother of his beloved Cavillaca, in the *HM*, renders the deity anything but awe-inspiring: "...she [Urpay Huachac] caused a huge abyss to open up next to him, thinking to herself, 'I'll knock Cuni Raya down into it.' But Cuni Raya in his cleverness realized this, just by saying, 'Sister, I've got to go off for a moment to relieve myself,' he made his getaway to these villages" (*HM* 2, 50). In effect, the *PV* and the *HM* share a giggle with the little boy of Hans Christian Anderson's farce (itself modeled on the older *Story of the Tailors in El Conde Lucanor*), who perceived that the Emperor was nude. St. George does not fear a dragon that he is too busy laughing at. Mayan and Andean writing divests the Sacrificers of their imperial robes and reveals their moral nudity.

Derisive laughter extends to human and beast. The foxes in the *HM*, and the birds, frogs and flies of the *PV* participate in this axiological joke. Two foxes in Huatyacuri's dream, one from the World Above and one from the World Below, insinuate the motives behind Tamta Namca's sickness, hinting at Tamta's wife's infidelity: "One fox asked the other, 'Brother, how are things in Upper Villca?' 'What's good is good. But a lord in Anchi Cocha, a *villca*<sup>154</sup> as a matter of fact, one who claims to know a whole lot, to be a god himself, is terribly ill... No one can identify his sickness. But his disease is this: while his wife was toasting maize, a grain of muro [spotted] maize popped from the griddle and got into her private part'" (*HM* 5, 56).

The fox dream conveys prophecy to Huatyacuri in a trance-like state, a respected practice of the Andean shaman (as well as biblical prophets such as Daniel). Dream pictures provide Huatyacuri with the springboard to another reality. Dream icons depict the feral

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<sup>154</sup> The term "villca" in Quechua signifies sacred, holy, or "deified," though in a more fluid shamanic sense and not an irreversible transformation a la the monotheistic faiths. Note that this man who is *villca* lives in Upper *Villca*.

apparitions of desire; serpents, two-headed toads, the venality at the root of Tamta Namca's ailment. Sex and spirituality are conjoined in the fox, venerated in Andean non-Incan religion. Colonial chroniclers spoke of foxes, living and dead, as sacred huacas. In Cristobal de Albornoz' late 16<sup>th</sup> century guide to ferreting out "idolatry" in the Andes, we read: "Pachacamac, principal huaca of the Indians of Ychma, the most important huaca of this kingdom, was a fox of gold that was found on a hill... Tamta Namoc... of the Ychmas, was a dead fox that was located at the gateway of that said Pachacamac" (Urbano and Duviols 191). [m. t.] The passage connects the "two foxes," one dead and one of gold, with the deities Tamta Namoc/Tamta Namca, the impostor/the animal carcass, who berates Huatyacuri, and the earth-protector Pachacamac, the golden one, the exalted god, with the Ychma<sup>155</sup> people. It hints at the use of tinku like motifs, two foxes, two gods, which predated the Inca and survived the colonial period, into modern Peruvian literature as well (e.g.: Arguedas).

In the modern-day Huarochiri region, foxes are associated with the coming of the rains. Their links to rain and water designate them as instruments of divine agency. As such, they are extremely dangerous.<sup>156</sup> Their appearance in Huatyacuri's dream is deliberate, since the foxes' dialogue transforms the protagonist. Until that dream, Huatyacuri is a threadbare beggar. After it, he is a seer who deciphers Divine codes. Armed with the fox-derived information, Huatyacuri goes to heal the cuckolded Lord of Upper Villca, and the drought of Huatyacuri's indigence is ended. The rains came, financially.

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<sup>155</sup> These were cultures of generally Yunca origin ranging from Huarochiri to the coastal regions of Peru. Their most outstanding archaeological ruin, visible today, is Lima's *Huaca Pucllana*, and they had extensive agricultural settlements and hydraulic structures in place on the site of Lima, which were appropriated by the Pizarro family.

<sup>156</sup> On the outskirts of modern-day Huarochiri, in the village of San Pedro de Casta, foxes are seen as the spiritual manifestations of the gods' anger if the villagers do not practice the rules of reciprocity regarding water and food. Foxes presage the presence of the magical entity of the *Pariapunco*, who lives in the lower village and punishes folk who do not make the necessary reciprocal "payments" (Doris Vera Torres, ed. *Hijas de Kavillaca* 220).

Life-changing junctures in the *PV* are also enunciated by forest creatures. The Twins' pre-Xibalba escapades with animals mark their transition from pranksters to Heroes. Their nobility is foreshadowed by their skirmishes with the monstrous macaw, whose vanity and false sunlight they crush, "It is not true that he is the sun, this Seven Macaw, yet he magnifies himself, his wings, his metal." Seeing beyond the Macaw's glitter enables them to see beyond Xibalba's Chamber of Horrors. Where real light does not exist, the Twins will create it, transmuting themselves into the Sun and Moon (*PV* Tedlock 74). After dethroning Seven Macaw, they imprisoned the bird's obstreperous earth monster son, Cabrakan, "the breaker of mountains" (*PV* Tedlock 85), to prevent him from causing more earthquakes. When they perform these deeds, the Twins are not in any existential danger, because they are wiler than their adversaries. It is only in Xibalba that their mettle will be tested and where the animals, from the bats that decapitate Hunahpu to the rabbit that helps Ixbalaamque, constitute, like the foxes, the keys to the Twins' success or failure.

The message of the loathsome Lords is transmitted while the Twins play with their fathers' ballgame equipment. "Happy now, they went to play ball at the court. So they played ball at a distance, all by themselves. They swept out the court of their fathers. And then it came into the hearing of the lords of Xibalba: 'Who's begun a game up there, over our heads? Don't they have any shame, stomping around this way?' " (*PV* Tedlock 112). Sick of the headache caused by the Boys' thumping about, the Lords invite them to a deadly game down below. Their invitation to "play" on the gloomy fields of Xibalba is passed along to the Twins via the Mayan bestiary.

A fly, the first messenger entrusted with the Lords' invitation, is swallowed by a frog, which in turn is swallowed by a snake, which is swallowed by a bird. As a result, Hunahpu and

Ixbalaamque force their faunal friends to literally vomit out the truth. Vomiting stands as a metaphor for the hurdles of information sharing, and regurgitation. In keeping with the *PV*'s inversion of authority, lowly insects are bearers of truths, while larger fauna do nothing but repeat what the little ones have stated. "And then they pried the toad's mouth open, it was opened by the Boys. They searched his mouth, and the louse [fly] had simply stuck in the toad's teeth, it was right there in his mouth... 'Tell it,' the louse was told next, so then he named his word: 'Boys, your grandmother says: Summon them. A message came for them. From Xibalba comes the messenger of One and Seven Death: In seven days they are to come here. We'll play ball' " (*PV* Tedlock 115-6).

Wisdom derives from a humble origin. In the *HM* knowledge is the gift of the fox, the animal cursed by Conirraya for its honesty: " 'She's already gone far away. You'll never find her now,' that fox told him. When the fox said this, he [Conirraya] replied: 'As for you, even when you skulk around keeping your distance, people will thoroughly despise you' " (*HM* 2, 48). Wisdom originates with fleas in the *PV*: "After that a louse came down where it could be seen, and then she [Ixmucañe] picked it up and put it in her hand, and the louse moved around with fits and starts. 'My grandchild, perhaps you might like to take my message, to go where my grandchildren are, at the ball court,' the louse was told when he went as a message bearer" (*PV* Tedlock 113). There are no lowly or exalted forms in shamanic thought, just evolving and transient shapes. In Aztec, Inca, or European epics, the jaguar or lion would predominate.

The animal associated with royalty in Mesoamerican culture since at least 300 BCE, as well as in the Peruvian mother-culture of Chavin 3,000 years ago, is the jaguar. It was never the fox, nor the flea. Mayan princes sat on mats bedecked with jaguar pelts; Peruvian sculptors inscribed the jaguar within the recesses of their temples. Yet in our texts, the big cat's majesty



plays no role at all. Maybe this is deliberate. The jaguar is conventional “autoritas”; and authority is put on trial here. The playing field belongs to the less dramatic animals that live by their wits. Foxes and fleas provide the road-map to survival.

Mayan post-Classic and Andean non-Incan culture perceives Nature in constant dynamism. It is a permeable world where all beings interact, and where, as we know from quantum physics, the land is comprised of particles that blend, disintegrate, and merge. Weaving is the supreme metaphor for this universe and for life: “Andeans weave their fields, both in the sense that their fields were and sometimes still are themselves woven like textiles” (Kemper-Columbus. *Llamastronomers and Roads...* 33). Trafzer calls this the “thin universe,”<sup>157</sup> common to many Native American cultures. Hunahpu, Ixbalaamque, Ixqiq, Conirraya, and Huatyacuri converse with all beings and all things in order to gain wisdom. Sometimes they do this awake and sometimes in dreams. Sometimes, as in Ixqiq’s case before she is to be sacrificed by the owls, they debate on the precipice of death.<sup>158</sup> The heroes and heroines of these epics are blessed with a sort of “second sight” or “second verbal ability” with animals. Given the ideological bent of these narratives, fleas and foxes and owls count more than jaguars.

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<sup>157</sup> Trafzer 2004, 51: “Traditional Y’upik people believe that at one time the earth was ‘thin’ and its elements had a greater relationship with one another, speaking with one another and marrying one another.” Lewis Mehl Madrona (*The Spirit of Healing: Stories, Wisdom and Practices from Native America*, CD) remarks that the North American Indian myth of the “snake people,” who may be part snake, part human, or any combination of the above, represents an earlier time which humanity has forgotten, in which animals and humans shared and swapped shapes at will.

<sup>158</sup> Antonio De Ciudad Real, in the *Calepino maya de Motul*, one of the major sources of Mayan language in the late 16th century, mentions that the term for “converse” and “argue” can be identical, re: pp.29-30, “akal” which signifies both speaking and arguing in the Mayan language, as spoken in Campeche, Yucatan. Speech is equated in Mayan culture with the ability to debate and refute.

## 2.6 *The Younger Generation's Use of Scorn: Unmasking Effigies and Rejecting Votive Offerings*

Laughter oriented towards an objective is an unbeatable weapon, because scorn trumps rage. Laughter in the *PV* and the *HM* shoots down fear of the ghastly Lords of Xibalba, and the man-eating ogre Huallallo Caruinchu. Compared to the resignation with which Aztecs and monotheists submit to heavenly dictates, Mayan and non-Incan Andean texts offer an intellectual skepticism, one which appears to have penetrated in the Inca resistance of the early Colonial period in Villcabamba. The trappings of religious theatre are stagecraft to the Hero Twins and Paria Caca, (and his sons and brothers), who dismiss the grown-up impostor gods as clumsy idols. In the case of the *Popul Vuh*, the idols are toppled figuratively and literally.

Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque know all about effigies. Earlier on, they had lured the Earth Monster Cipacna to his death, beguiling his hunger with a fake crab of their own mischievous construction. "Next comes the counterfeiting of a great crab by Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. And they used bromeliad flowers, picked from the bromeliads of the forest. These became the forearms of the crab, and where they opened were the claws. They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, and where they opened were the claws. They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered. After that they put the shell beneath an overhang, at the foot of a great mountain. Meauan is the name of the mountain where the defeat took place." (*PV* Tedlock 84) Cipacna himself becomes the bait in this charade.

Holy theatre does not frighten the Twins, who manipulate its greasepaint. Their reception in the Xibalban court, where they are greeted by the lifeless statues of the gods, does not fluster them as it did their progenitors, One and Seven Hunahpu. Here is that earlier scene: "And then they came to the council place of the Lords of Xibalba, and they were defeated again there. The ones seated first there are just manikins, just woodcarvings dressed up by

Xibalba. And they greeted the first ones: ‘Morning, One Death,’ they said to the manikin. ‘Morning, Seven Death,’ they said to the woodcarving in turn. So they did not win out, and the lords of Xibalba shouted out with laughter over this” (*PV* Tedlock 95).

The Twins are cockier than their fathers, and have inherited their mother Ixqiq’s resolve. They face down Evil by grimacing at it. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque recognize the stage props for what they are, refusing to make obeisance to dolls. Instead, the Hero Twins taunt the doll-makers, sending a lowly insect to unseat the Lords. “And there they [the Twins] summoned that creature named the mosquito. Having heard that he’s a spy, they sent him ahead: ‘Bite them [the Xibalbans] one by one. First bite the one seated there, then bite every last one of them, and it will be yours alone to suck the blood of people in the roads,’ the mosquito was told. ‘Very well,’ replied the mosquito, and then he took Black Road and stopped at the two manikins, or woodcarvings, that were seated first. They were all dressed up, and he bit the first of them. It didn’t speak, so he bit again. When he bit the one seated second, again it didn’t speak, and then he bit the third one, the one seated third actually being One Death” (*PV* Tedlock 116).

Devilish puppeteers wait in Xibalba, but Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque are aware of their “uses of enchantment,”<sup>159</sup> and avoid it. Xibalba has scripted a tragedy for them, but the Twins have authorial ambitions of their own and rewrite their fathers’ tragedy as a very black comedy.

A similar ritual drama was being rewritten in mythical time in the highlands of Huarochiri. There it will be Paria Caca in his quintuple form, playing with obstreperous lightning bolts just as the Twins play with their rubber ball. In the midst of this game of

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<sup>159</sup> The expression is of course the title of Bruno Bettelheim’s famous book of the same name, which analyzed the moral discourse, and the inherent violence, in European folklore.

boleadoras,<sup>160</sup> a father comes bearing his son as a potential offering, and his hopeless aspect stirs Paria Caca's compassion. Like the Twins, Paria Caca, (all five of him/them) is interrupted in his/their sport by the threat of human sacrifice, and he/they will also use gaming to frighten his adversary. "They say that when Paria Caca set out to defeat Huallallo Caruinchu, the five persons who composed him whirled hunting *bolas* at Ocsa Pata" (HM 8, 66).<sup>161</sup> The father informs the rain-god that he is on the way to deliver his child to the Huallallo, (the cannibal deity worshipped in the region prior to the religion of Paria Caca over 2,000 years ago).<sup>162</sup>

As the narrative unfolds, Paria Caca remonstrates with the father to save his child from Huallallo. The then-existing celestial order is rejected by the player(s) of lightning bolts, the younger generation of deities. Why should killing be necessary to uphold the gods' universe, if gods are mightier than the humans they have created? Politically, the god Huallallo's demand for human flesh is denounced as a farce concocted to keep human villagers in a state of submission. Paria Caca's message to the boy's father is the overthrowing of the old order.

The agony of the boy's death is averted by the god's definition of a new and less noxious form of worship. " 'Son', replied the Paria Caca, 'don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back' " (HM 8, 67). Adoration based on life upends the funereal conclusion decreed by the older religion; sacral objects such as oyster shells and coca, portable *huacas*, replace human sacrificial subjects. The text mirrors what were historical

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<sup>160</sup> The *boleadoras* are weapons created by the Patagonian Indians for trapping wild ostriches. Hurling as heavy rocks on cords, they made a formidable weapon. Indians used them to trip up cavalry during the Conquest.

<sup>161</sup> Ocsa Pata is a location near the mountain traditionally viewed as Paria Caca's shrine, in the Huarochiri district.

<sup>162</sup> Astahuaman Gonzalez, in his account of the ruins of Paria Caca's sanctuary in contemporary Huarochiri, notes that the worship of both Paria Caca and Pachacamac dates back to the Early Intermediate Period in Andean archaeology, that is to say, prior to 200 ACE. In that next period, (200 BCE-600 ACE) Astahuaman Gonzalez states categorically that Paria Caca's worship was more prestigious than Pachacamac ("El santuario de Paria Caca", 8).

processes taking place in the Huarochiri valley. There, as well as in Mesoamerica, the appearance of the Conquistadors and their imposition of faith-based violence must have reawakened memories of more ancient, and detested, forms of worship. In colonial America, sacrifice returned in the guise of Inquisitorial torture, and burning alive, of the ones Conquistadors defined as “infidels.”

In Peru’s sacred geography, and in the more nebulous reaches of Xibalba,<sup>163</sup> a new relationship to Divinity was being imagined not predicated on horror. Paria Caca altered the reality of the worshippers, the father and his son, by nullifying the older gods’ mandate for sacrifice. The Twins altered the way in which humans worshipped their gods, exposing ominous idols as scenic props. The *HM* and the *PV* expose the artificiality of the theatre of terror, and eliminate fear-inspired rituals.

Paria Caca and the Twins think, and are responsible for their choices. Prepared to disrupt the murderous rigmarole of the gods, they assume the consequences of insurrection. Here literature mimics history: Andean and Mayan cultures did not submit to Spanish “pacification” and soldiers of fortune begged to be sent to the Mexican valley for assignments, while Peru and Central America were considered too difficult, their inhabitants too intransigent.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Christenson gives a possible topographic reference for Xibalba, in note 254, (107) of his edition of the *Popul Vuh*: “Modern Quiches have vague notions of the entrance to the underworld being located in the Alta Verapaz region inhabited by the Kekchis.” However, readings of the text do not in any way mark Xibalba as a physical boundary, unlike the *HM*, which recounts the formation of the Coastal Highlands through Paria Caca’s and Conirraya’s exploits. The attribution of Xibalban characteristics to the Kekchis (other Maya) by the Maya-Quiches may be a sarcastic expression of centuries old Mayan infighting and inter-village tension.

<sup>164</sup> Baroque author Vicente Alemany, among others, enunciated this preference for the more obedient Aztecs.

Intransigence was a conscious choice. It was what propelled the Maya to fight against the more numerous Aztec army in 1511 in Soconusco, on Guatemala's Pacific coast;<sup>165</sup> against a harsh plantation system throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century; and against the neo-colonialism of independent Mexico, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century Wars of the Castes in the Yucatan peninsula. The same attitude was evinced by the people of Huarochiri throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when their area was singled out for Inquisitorial zeal due to its preservation of pre-Conquest gods and traditions. Karen Spalding hypothesizes that "the Indians were successful in hiding the extent of their practice of their own customs and beliefs," citing evidence from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, between 1723 and 1730..." (*Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Incan and Spanish Rule* 263). A bloody revolt exploded in Huarochiri in 1750, in which the colonial Comptroller was stoned to death (Spalding 285). The second failed armed rebellion in Huarochiri in 1783 (Spalding 271) following the uprising of Tupac Amaru II (and undeterred by his public dismemberment) proved that an angry and irredentist spirit still existed among of Paria Caca's adepts...even if they were no longer his adepts in *strictu sensu*. Their old religion joined in syncretic form with Catholicism, combining the earlier penchant for political rebellion. An outstanding expression of this continuity came at the beginning of the wars of Independence, when the last *curaka* (spiritual leader) of Huarochiri became among the first Peruvians to join the Liberator San Martin's multi-racial troops in the Army of the Andes.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> J. Heggie, in "The Rise and Fall of Montezuma" (48), states: "In 1511 this region, now in Guatemala, rebels against Aztec domination. Montezuma sends his army to crush the insurrection." The modern Mayan site of Soconusco, below Tehuantepec, stands on the site of the Maya' failed, but well-remembered, challenge to the Aztec empire. Certain Aztec/Nahua groups who had found refuge among the Maya remained loyal to the Mayan side, such as the Pipils and the Chontales. (The latter pro-Mayan Nahuas dominated the Battle of Champoton in 1518, repelling the first Conquistadors on the Campeche/Yucatan coastline).

<sup>166</sup> "An ardent supporter of Jose de San Martin, [the curaka] Ignacio's prestige in, and knowledge of, the local communities made it possible for him to play an important part in organizing and leading guerrilla forces against the Spaniards..." (Spalding, 237). San Martin was, along with Miguel Hidalgo and Jose Artigas, one of the few "pro-indigenous" Emancipation leaders, conflicting with the more creole-oriented, Eurocentric Simon Bolivar.

Success avoids the mistakes of one's elders; it is not a blanket rejection of the past, but of those aspects of it which no longer prove valid...such as fear. The Twins' terrified fathers had been unnerved by the laughter of Xibalba, jumping up in agony after sitting on the hot slabs that the Xibalbans offered them: "At this the Xibalbans laughed again, they began to shriek with laughter, the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores, all the lords of Xibalba laughed themselves down to their blood and bones" (*PV* Tedlock 96). The Twins unnerve their enemies by knowing their tricks: " 'Sit here,' they were told. They were wanted on the bench, but they [the Twins] didn't want it: 'This bench isn't for us! It's just a stone slab for cooking,' said Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. They were not defeated" (*PV* Tedlock 119).

In the second generation of Twins, fate is not the sole determinant, and it is altered through conscious action. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque ridicule the gods' stratagems, whereas their predecessors had allowed the Underworld to dictate the Middle World's destiny. "And then they [One and Seven Hunahpu] came to the Crossroads, but here they were defeated, at the Crossroads: Red Road was one and Black Road another. White Road was one and Yellow Road another. There were four roads, and Black Road spoke: 'I am the one you are taking. I am the lords' road,' said the road. And they were defeated there: this was the road to Xibalba" (*PV* Tedlock 95).

When the Twins choose the black river, they know it augurs mayhem, but they are ready to look their parents' old foes in the face. Their rebellion, like Paria Caca's when he fights the Sacrificer, is propelled by compassion: to avenge the wrongs done to those too weak to combat Evil. " 'We're on our way, dear grandmother'" (*PV* Tedlock 116). Once surrounded by fake images of the Xibalbans, the Twins infuriate the real ones with their insolence. Artifice is smashed by words. The Twins put a name on the thing, the manikin, and by naming

it, reducing its mystery, they dissipate its power: “After that Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque went on, and then they came to where the Xibalbans were: ‘Bid the lords good day,’ said someone who was seated there. It was a deceiver who spoke. ‘These aren’t lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!’ they [the Twins] said as they came up” (*PV* Tedlock 118).

The Twins’ redeem their Fathers’ death, and Paria Caca redeems the next generation’s life: these upheavals are altruistic and generous. Paria Caca enrages his enemy by giving voice to subjects left dumb in the sacrificial drama. In this case, those subjects are the intended child victim and the victim’s father. The boy’s father is not collaborating whole-heartedly in this holy infanticide, but he is incapable of action until Paria Caca intervenes. “At that moment a man came along weeping...and carrying one of his children. He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell, coca, and balls of *ticti*, meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering. ‘Son, where are you going crying like that?’ one of the Paria Cacas asked him...‘Father’, he replied, ‘I’m taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo’ ” (*HM* 8, 67).

The Bible and the Koran insist that Man be tested through human or divine sacrifice: Isaac/Ishmael, Jesus on the cross. The *HM* satirizes the notion that such self-abnegation is necessary. In *Huarochiri*, any god cruel enough to call for infanticide must be fought, not adored. The sacrificial victim is not a remote abstraction, and thanks to Paria Caca’s agency, the victim recovers his agency as a human being.

Though the boy’s father is grateful to the quintuple god for his intervention, he remains uneasy about the nature of Huallallo’s revenge. Sensing his discomfort, Paria Caca tells the boy’s father to return in five days, when He, in his five-fold radiance, will confront the Sacrificer. But only the surety of apocalyptic battle against Evil is guaranteed. ““In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruinchu,’ Paria Caca said. ‘If I



overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me, ‘Our father’s beating him!’ But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me, ‘The fighting’s over!’ ”(HM 8, 67). Paria Caca “plays” with his adversary with no more certainty of outcome than the Twins have when they descend to Xibalba, but with the self-same steadfastness of purpose. The sole thing that is assured is an eventual return to battle against the merciless older order, the cannibal gods. But the use of the number five heralds the possibility of renewal in both texts.

In Judeo-Christian and Islamic thought, the number seven is revered as a reminder of the days of creation. Hinduism constructed a sacred geometry based on proportional correspondences of natural shapes, the triangles, the square, and their multiples of, again, seven.<sup>167</sup> Numbers enshroud associations. In Mayan and Andean non-Incan cultures, the preferred digit was the number five. Beyond associations with the physical extremities, (fingers and toes, and thus the connection with the palpable world) the number five configured the universe. It is the sum of the four cardinal directions, and the center, the Middle World, (Kay Pacha, Uleew) on which we stand. It is the space in which all life converges. And it marks those transitions in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* when divergent forces intertwine and morph into each other. Five is asymmetrical (a prime number) and its unevenness allows for incompleteness, for Creation to evolve because it is never finished, never even. Something is always left hanging. We know that Paria Caca is five deities, but one of them remains unnamed: “The names of these five brothers are Paria Caca-Churapa-Puncho-Paria Carco...We don’t know the name of one of these five” (HM 8, 67). Does this hint at a future revelation of the fifth manifestation of Paria Caca, or does this point to a lost tradition?

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<sup>167</sup> Hindu mathematician Harish Johari, in his book *Sacred Geometry*, describes these concepts in greater detail.

Zenon Depaz Toledo, in a conference imparted at San Augustin University in Arequipa, Peru, on July 4, 2014, stressed the existence of a possible fifth name, crossed out in the margins, *Sulka Illapa*, literally: “discreet lightning,” which for unknown reasons was never accepted as canon in the text. Paria Caca’s sister, the goddess of sex, Chaupi Namca, also has five manifestations, and one of them is hypothesized to be Urpay Huachac, mother of Cavillaca, she who scorned Conirraya (*HM* 13, 85), while another is reputed to be the indomitable Cavillaca herself (86). Sharing in her brother’s quintuple character, Chaupi Namca has five arms, as does the statue of her still hidden below the Catholic priest’s stable in the town of Mama. The *HM* (10, 77) recounts ominously/humorously: “She’s there to this day, inside the earth.” In accordance with this numerical scheme, the bewildered human father is commanded to return to see the battle between Paria Caca and Huallallo after five days. He is armed with Paria Caca’s promise that the Sacrificer cannot harm him: “ ‘Let him get angry! He won’t be able to do a thing to you’ ” (*HM* 8, 67).

In the *Popul Vuh*, the Hero Twins endure five houses of trials: darkness, obsidian razors, wild beasts, chilling cold, and vampire bats. The fifth house, the Bat House, almost marks the demise of Hunahpu. As such, it symbolizes his rebirth and marks the number five, as in the Andes, as the porous boundary between life and death. Following the grinding of their bones by the Xibalbans, the Boys resurrect themselves from the water after five days, born anew from the world-womb. “Once the Xibalbans had done the divination, the bones were ground and spilled in the river, but they didn’t go far-they just sank to the bottom of the water. They became handsome boys; they looked just the same as before when they reappeared. And on the fifth day they reappeared” (*PV* Tedlock 131-2). In the *PV* the Maker and Shaper create the world from the water, hence the Boys reinvent themselves there.

Five days in the Mayan calendar close each solar year of 360 days, the *haab*. This is a time of sadness, the *wayeb*, called “*xmak’aba’kin*: the un-named days” (David Stuart. *The Order of Days* 156). The days’ anonymity is crucial, since anonymity is used by the Hero Twins to scuttle Xibalban designs. The Aztec doubted the continued existence of the world during those five fearsome days, but Maya calculated calendar rounds hundreds of thousands of years into the future. There would be no “end of days,” just cycles of good and troubled times, as there had always been. After the unfortunate *wayeb*, each calendar count recommences, and we commemorate another year. “The Supreme Lord has conceded for us to pass the evil days here in our village; because other days will come; other twenty day rounds; other years; other year rounds...” (“Cantar 12 de Dzitbalche” 379, in M. de la Garza’s *Literatura Maya*).

Non-Incan Andean culture is characterized by this same circularity. Those who have passed away to Paria Caca’s protective abode remain part of our cycle of life. The *HM* reminds us that the dead once returned to earth after five days to take up life among the living, a custom that was aborted due to the carelessness of a deceased soul who returned late: “It was on the next day, that is, on the sixth day, that he arrived. So his elders, brothers and wife were feeling furiously as they waited for him....In her spite the dead man’s wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit. The moment she threw it, he made a ‘Sio!’ noise and went back where he came from. Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back” (*HM* 27, 129).

In Mayan and Andean universes there was no “happily ever after,” no end to History. Eternal salvation and eternal damnation were impossible, and as in Buddhism, uncertainty was the only bedrock. As the Twins approach the canyons of the Underworld, their odyssey begins.

In the vision of the narrative, so does ours, and it will be unending. The confabulations of Xibalba must be overcome by each generation on its own terms.

When Paria Caca snatches human child-meal away from Huallallo's monstrous lips, he accepts the uncertainty of an impending duel with the cannibal god. Huallallo's retaliation for the withheld sacrifice may blot out all Creation, but Paria Caca must oppose the man-eating god, whatever the outcome. The narration does not portray Paria Caca as omnipotent; as evidenced by the warning given to the child's father: " 'But if he overwhelms me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me, 'The fighting's over!' The man got scared when Paria Caca said this....." (*HM* 8, 67). In this theatre of submission and sacrifice, Paria Caca will rewrite the scripts, whatever the consequences. The new version emboldens the voiceless subjects destined for sacrifice. They are no longer silent abstractions, and, like the father and the boy, assume a place in the story-line.

When Ixmucane mourns Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, she relives the nightmare script left by the memory of her sacrificed sons One and Seven Hunahpu. "So now the grandmother's heart was broken...." (*PV* Tedlock 113). At that moment, she cannot conceive of a different outcome than all that has gone (been scripted) before. Ixq'iq remains silent here, and her silence enables her sons to fulfill their destiny. She does not protest their summons to Xibalba. Aware of the Underworld's limitations, she alone knows that it is possible to come up from Hell. The corn foregrounds whatever will transpire: "When the corn dries up, this will be a sign of our death: 'Perhaps they died,' you'll say, when it dries up. And when the sprouting comes: 'Perhaps they'll live,' you'll say, our dear grandmother and mother' " (*PV* Tedlock 116). Scripts are left open and all sureties disintegrate.

Thanks to the shift in consciousness initiated by the younger generation of heroes, the rules of engagement are transformed. The Twins do not repeat their fathers' history because they know it; and Paria Caca does not wreck the Andean landscape, as Huallallo does, whatever his (Paria Caca's) penchant for tossing thunderbolts. The *PV* and the *HM* consciously imagine and then assay a new conception of life, with a new brand of worship that eschewed awe. Skeptical attitudes associated with Europe's Age of Reason had begun centuries earlier among certain cultures in the Americas. Although these attitudes did not predominate, in either the Americas or anywhere else,<sup>168</sup> they still remain a viable alternative to terror-based conception of the Sacred.

One of the finest theatrical episodes of the *Popul Vuh* occurs when Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque pronounce the names of the Lords of Death and Disease. Adjusting their battle strategy to their adversary, the Twins opt for deceit. The despised mosquito is directed by the Twins to uncover the names and debilitate the powers of Xibalba's hosts, and as it bites the Lords, one by one, the Twins learn their identities. Each name provides them with knowledge: " 'Yeow!' each one said... 'What?' each one replied. 'Ouch!' said One Death. 'Something's bitten me.' 'It's-ouch! There's something that's bitten me,' the one seated fourth said next. 'What is it, Seven Death?' 'Something's bitten me.' The one seated fifth spoke next: 'Ow! Ow!' he said. 'What, Scab Stripper?' Seven Death said to him. 'Something's bitten me,' he said next. The one seated sixth was bitten: 'Ouch!' 'What is it, Blood Gatherer?'<sup>169</sup> Scab Stripper said to him....." (*PV* Tedlock 117). Name is the jagged, primal essence of being. In the

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<sup>168</sup> One smaller North American Indian nation, the Choctaw, share a skeptical world view: the Creator gods were so inept at forming people that a generous bird, a buzzard, went to volunteer his help so that humanity could begin. For the Cherokee, First Man and First Woman generate spontaneously, with no Divine intervention whatsoever.

<sup>169</sup> This one would have had special significance for the boys: he was their maternal grandfather! Blood Gatherer is the father of their mother, Ixqiq. The Twins share their mother's values, not those of their Grandfather.

words of contemporary Mayan author Jorge Miguel Cocom Pech, to name a thing in the world is literally to endow it with life.<sup>170</sup> In Xibalba, two obstreperous “children” frustrate the masquerades of their sadistic elders thanks to their judicious use of words.

### ***Chapter 3: Rebellion and the Merry Go Round of Sovereignty-How Cyclical Notions of Time are Conducive to Uprisings While Linearity Leads to Resignation***

#### ***3.1 The Meanings and Curses of Days***

Aztec calendars were fatalistic, as are Western and Chinese astrology. The child’s destiny, and the name incarnated by that destiny, was determined by the day, time, and place of his or her birth.<sup>171</sup> The Maya, though subject to astral influences, were not bound by them. Names in Mayan literature did not always include the celestial dates of birth, when the child was born on an unlucky day. (Stupid gods could be tricked by nom-de-plums). Names revealed what their owners wished to reveal, unless those owners were unfortunate enough to be “named,” recognized, identified, called upon by another, first. The Xibalbans are “named” first by the Twins, who tear the Lords’ verbal cloak of anonymity. By so doing, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque inject some “light,” intelligence, and humor into the obscurity of the Underworld. Effigies are differentiated from deities through the utterance of the deities’ names.

No longer anonymous, the Lords cannot hold their victims in suspense, and the executioner’s face, to paraphrase the Dylan lyric, is no longer “well-hidden.”<sup>172</sup> The

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<sup>170</sup> Cocom Pech writes (118) that “Acaso, nombrar el mundo es dotarlo de vida.....”in “Raices Literarias del Mexico Antiguo” (*And would it not be that to name the world is to endow it with life.....*) [My translation].

<sup>171</sup> Lopez Austin & Garcia Quintana, in their preface to Sahagun’s *Historia General*, (231-284) note that Sahagun devoted an entire section, (nu. 4 of his Volume II, Chaps. I-XL) to the study of Aztec “predictive astrology” (*astrologia judiciaria*) which fixed the unalterable attributes of those born under different constellations.

executioner's intended victims laugh at him. This de-dramatization of villainy, as well as the villains' downfall, is accomplished by a hair from Hunahpu's leg, which masquerades as the mosquito, *Sam*. "There wasn't a single name they missed, naming every last one of their names when they were bitten by the hair that Hunahpu had plucked from his own shin. It wasn't really a mosquito that bit them. It went to hear all their names for Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque" (*PV* Tedlock 118). No dragon slaying; just faux mosquito bites.

Xibalbans revel in the cover of decomposition and secrecy in which they had betrayed the Twins' fathers. They display their repertoire through the ailments with which they afflict humanity, provoking awe with their gruesome disguises, e.g.: "Demon of Jaundice; Bone Scepter; Skull Scepter; Wing; Packstrap; Bloody Teeth; Bloody Claws..." (*PV* Tedlock 118). Hunahpu's mosquito-cum-hair is impervious to them, and compounds the Xibalbans' confusion with his seeming triviality, as nothing can be more trivial than a bug! In comparison to the Xibalbans, Sam hair-mosquito cannot cause a traveler to drop down dead in his tracks, nor cause a person to heave from convulsions. At worst, Sam can sting; he annoys but does not kill. But annoyance and teasing makes even a godly Xibalban wince.

As the hair/mosquito darts from god to god, the Twins', and the readers', fear of the unknown diminishes. Stung by Sam, the Xibalbans grumble, calling out each other's names for reassurance. "And such was the naming of their names, they named them all among themselves. They showed their faces and named their names, each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the one seated next to them" (*PV* Tedlock 118). In contrast, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque resolutely avoid revealing *their* names whenever the Xibalbans inquire it of them. " 'Where might you have come from? Please name it,' Xibalba

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<sup>172</sup> The quote is a paraphrase from Bob Dylan's anthem *A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall*, written in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. The song referred to the possibility of the USA and the USSR obliterating each other and everyone else in a nuclear war. The original line reads "And the executioner's face is always well hidden".

said to them. ‘Well, wherever did we come from? We don’t know,’ was all they said. They didn’t name it” (*PV* Tedlock 120). Gazing on the faces of their fathers’ executioners, the Twins rewrite the scripted protocol. Seeing as the Maya cherish a tradition of dance and narrative representation (as in Looper’s *To Be Like Gods*), it is possible that this scene was physically “staged” at one point. Drama builds from the “insignificance” of the mosquito to the crescendo of the infernal names.<sup>173</sup>

Contradicting four millennia of Mayan tradition, these Twins do not announce their presence. In a role reversal, they assume the anonymity which their tormentors lost when they blurted out their identities to a bug. Thanks to the mosquito/hair Sam, the Twins peel back the executioner’s mask, and chuckle while he wields the axe.<sup>174</sup> (Contrast this irreverence with the desolate submission etched in the Nahuatl account of the Guadalupe, the *Nican Mopohua*, and the mental distance between Mayan and “Mexican” culture becomes vivid in the extreme).<sup>175</sup>

At this stage, the Twins’ strength lies more in what they do not say, (their names), than in what they actually do. Silence protects the Twins with its mystery, until the climax of their ordeals in Xibalba. Silence is the horror that lurks behind the closed door, the Sacrificers’

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<sup>173</sup> De la Garza, in *Literatura Maya* (425-6) observes that the Yucatec Mayan name for jugglers and actors is *hpaal-amooob*, and for spectators at a theatrical performance is *nacyaob*. Compiled in the 1700’s, “The Songs of Dzitbalche,” from the Campeche region of the Yucatan peninsula, preserve memories of these secular performances, as differentiated from the Aztec and Spanish use of theatre in latently religious ceremonies. More recently, (2007), De la Garza has also remarked on the importance of public readings of the religious codices, continued by the Maya clandestinely in the forest, during the Colonial period. These communal readings would have, just as in temple/church services, stimulated a group theatrical effect.

<sup>174</sup> Many cultures, Western and American, elevate the name to a mystic concept. Cabalistic Jewish tradition asserts the power of the 72-letter Tetragrammaton, one of the Names of God which must never be pronounced; Claude Levi Strauss, when working with the Nambikwara tribe in the mid 1960’s, noted that Amazonian culture relegated the use of the given name to specialized instances, resulting in a taboo placed on these names in Nambikwara children’s games. *Re: Tristes Tropiques* by C. Levi Strauss.

<sup>175</sup> The famous Nahuatl-language epic, *Nican Mopohua* describing the apparition of the Virgin in 1531, asserts, in Leon Portilla’s Spanish language rendering: “It was ten years since the water, the mountain, the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan had been conquered...the arrow rested, the shield rested, and all the many villages were at peace...” [My translation]. (“Profecias y portentos...9”).



divine rigmarole. Notwithstanding its mockery of a staged form of holiness, the *PV* leaves intact the possibility of a less violent style of worship. Considering the recrudescence of fundamentalism among all the world's religions at present, the Mayan alternative should not be discounted.

The Xibalbans (and, by inference, the notion of the Godhead in all organized religion) are nothing when not accompanied by mystery. Yucatec author Antonio Mediz Bolio, in *La tierra del faisán y del venado* (Land of the Pheasant and the Stag), exemplified that point in his retelling of the Mayan siren myth, the Xtabay. She entices travelers at the midnight crossroads, mesmerizing them by uttering their names. In the story, the enunciation of the man's name by the seductive Xtabay was tantamount to hijacking his soul.<sup>176</sup> Knowledge of the quintessence, the name, is the key to domination (of others). In contrast, concealment of the name until the chosen hour safeguards one's own freedom. When the mask is lifted, authority is flouted. Following the mosquito's antics, Underworld Authority is decidedly wobbly. Those who set it topsy-turvy, the Twins, remain majestically mute regarding their own origins.

### 3.2 *The Implosion of Religious Theatre: Representation as Weapon.*

The Twins play along with the Xibalbans at the outset of their odyssey; whereas Paria Caca jettisons any pretense at play from the moment that he interrupts, forever, the religious theatre of Huallallo's child sacrifice. Paria Caca stops the scene in mid-dialogue. From the point of view of the two dramas' spatial organization, the *HM* and the *PV* part company here. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque obliterate the sacrificial drama *from within*, by first pretending they are at one with its precepts, and then by luring their satanic hosts into spontaneous self-

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<sup>176</sup> Antonio Mediz Bolio retold the story of the Xtabay of pre-Contact Yucatan, warning travelers of the dreadful moment in which the enchantress hears her call them by name: "You, poor man, when you hear her call you by name, you will shudder..." (155) The story actually gained in popularity after the Conquest.

sacrifice. Paria Caca, spatially, remains *beyond/outside* the drama of sacrifice. In the narrative of the *HM*, his character stands the life of the rescued child and the intended ceremony of infanticide at loggerheads. For the text's readership, and for the first spectators of *Huarochiri's* teachings, Huallallo is reduced to humbug from the moment that Paria Caca convinces the father not to butcher his son. With this affirmation, the five-fold god promises a re-ordering of Creation where Huallallo's cult is unknown: "And what's more I will bring people into being, males under the care of Ami and Llata...one as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live..." (*HM* 8, 67). A new humanity is created, one not weaned on sacrificial precepts.

The conflict between good and evil which ensues from Paria Caca's gesture occurs when he meets Huallallo on the shores of a mountain lake. The rescued child's father watches, and the reader/spectator empathizes with the father, as the fate of his/our children hang in the balance. Where was this tournament fought? "We don't know for certain that dwelling's original name. We do know that it's called Mullu Cocha Lake today because, when Paria Caca defeated Huallallo, who was a burning fire, he turned the place into a lake to extinguish him" (*HM* 8, 66).

The Lake's (cocha=lake) name, *Mullucocha* is suggestive. *Mullu* refers to the coral and spondylus shells of the Pacific seas which the gods love to munch. It was a treasured trade item on the Peruvian/Ecuadorian coast for at least a thousand years before the rise of the Incas in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, Maca Uisa, one of Paria Caca's progeny, is portrayed as preferring mullu to the finest culinary delicacies. The haughty Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui learned that when his dinner invitation was rebuffed by that deity: "The Inca then said, Father, eat! And [he] had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand: I am not in the habit of eating

stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells! As soon as the Inca gave him the thorny shells, Maca Uisa ate them all at once, making them crunch with a ‘Cap-cap’ sound” (*HM* 23, 116).

The clash between Huallallo and Paria Caca will determine what sustenance the gods will demand: human (Huallallo) or coral/mullu (Paria Caca). Mullucocha, the existing lake of shells/coral, is described prior to the battle as a ring of molten fire. The lake’s name, *Mullucocha*, is therefore a fitting scenario for the fight, incarnating the transition from angry flames to tranquil waters, from consuming flesh to consuming aquatic plants, *mullu*, not human bodies.

The traditional transition period of five days, the continuum of life to death to life, is a time of preparation for each of Paria Caca’s five manifestations. In Chapter 3 of the *HM*, the waters of the deluge begin to recede “after five days.”<sup>177</sup> Chapter 1 of the *HM* reminded us that in the remotest times, human beings sprang to life again five days after dying.<sup>178</sup> Even the crops matured after that same brief span of time.<sup>179</sup> Number five encapsulates life, the union of the four cardinal directions and the center from which they emanate. Being a quintuple incarnation, Paria Caca *is* life, and hence eradicates the cult of child murder. His duel with Huallallo takes place five days after he has emitted his decree against sacrifice, since the number five is the guarantor of physical renewal.

As in the *Popul Vuh*, *Huarochiri* explains the development within indigenous culture, of a concept of Divinity which dispenses with human sacrifice. In post-Classic Mayan and

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<sup>177</sup> Taylor *Manuscrito de Huarochiri* 77 “Despues de cinco dias, las aguas empezaron a bajar de nuevo y a secarse.”

<sup>178</sup> Taylor *MH* 46: “En aquella epoca, [los hombres] resuscitaban solo cinco dias despues de morir.”

<sup>179</sup> *HM*: “...y los cultivos maduraban solo cinco dias despues de haber sido sembrados.”

Andean (non-Incan) philosophy sacrifice is not required to sustain the universe. This diverges from many other traditions in Americas and the Old World alike. It is unlike the Moche owl priestesses of the northern Peruvian coast,<sup>180</sup> unlike the hungry sun-god Huitzilopochtli of the Aztec pantheon, and unlike the three monotheistic Gods of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition, who ostensibly rule over all Creation but love only those who call Him by a particular name.<sup>181</sup>

Instead of craving human blood to perpetuate themselves and their governance of the Cosmos (sacrifices in the Amerindian sense, burning of heretics in the colonial version), universes in the *PV* and the *HM* do not rely on cannibalistic nourishment. Matter exists there on three levels, Middle, Upper and Lower, no matter what changes of regime destabilize the gods above or below. This is not the world of the monotheistic faiths, quivering before the Day of Judgment; neither is it the Aztec terror that envisioned the world's end each time an eclipse transpired.<sup>182</sup> Neither is it the perspective of the Incas, whose sun Inti, though universal, appeared to sometimes have appetites for only non-Incan tributary subjects, as the remains of the Llullaillaco mummies attest. Those children, left to die on the mountainside some 600 years ago as offerings to the deities, remind us that however infrequent Inca human sacrifice was, its purpose was as cold-blooded as Aztec heart-ripping or Spanish live-subject burnings: a theatre of terror.

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<sup>180</sup> Solanilla Demetre, Victoria. "El rol de las tejedoras precolombinas a traves de las fuentes e imagenes" (84-97) en *El Mundo Indigena Desde la Perspectiva Actual* 95. Moche images of weaving are linked with the cult of death, whereas Andean and Mayan culture view weaving explicitly as the life impulse.

<sup>181</sup> Hence Jesus saves only those who believe in Him, according to the Gospel of John; the Jihad is invoked by Mohammed against all pagans; and the Jews are God's Chosen People. This All-Powerful Deity has very exclusionary tendencies. Responsible for all Creation, He cherishes just a small part of it.

<sup>182</sup> Bernardino de Sahagun, in Book Seven, Chapter One of his second volume, recorded that when the Aztecs witnessed eclipses they would be seized by terror and rioting, weeping, screaming, doing bodily harm to themselves...and, as would be inevitable in their case, finding new human sacrifices to appease the gods (re: Lopez Austin and Quintana Garcia 478-9).

*Huarochiri* attributes the practice of human sacrifice directly to the Incas, indirectly associating the Cuzco regime with the savagery of Huallallo's cult. In the post-Conquest period in which the legends of *Huarochiri* were recorded, the same association linked the Incas with the Conquistadors. All demanded human sacrifices, whether by burning, torture, or interment. "Reportedly they [the Incas] gave Pacha Camac each year what's called Capac Hucha,<sup>183</sup> namely, *human beings both female and male from Tahuantin Suyu*, the four quarters of the world. Arriving at Pacha Camac, and saying to Pacha, Here they are. We offer them to you, father! They'd *bury the Capac Hucha alive*, along with gold and silver" (*HM* 22, 112). [Italics mine].

As opposed to the above-mentioned examples, the cyclical Mayan world and the world of *Huarochiri* were in no danger of ending. In their circles, one would suffer confrontations with Evil, and live to confront it again. The heroes' and heroines' resourcefulness snatched victory from whoever terrorized them, just as the Cakchiquel Maya had snatched fire from the gruesome sacrificial god Tohil. "They went right past in the smoke then, they sneaked past when they came to get fire. Those fiery Cakchiquels didn't ask for their fire" (*PV* Tedlock 156). The Cakchiquels obtained their fire without bending the knee to Tohil, and Tohil never dared punish them for it.

Mayan thought situated the origins of life in the womb of a cave, and the *PV* redefined Life in the caverns of the Xibalban Underworld. Since Andean thought placed the origins of life within the confines of a lake, (Titicaca), the choice of lake and river confluences for the three battles between Paria Caca and Huallallo in the *HM* is, like the caves of the *Popul Vuh*,

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<sup>183</sup> Salomon defines this as "opulent prestation" (*HM* 112, note 557). Garcilaso el Inca went to great pains to assure his readers that such rites only included llama sacrifices. But the archaeological record, and researchers such as Johann Reinhardt, has confirmed that the Incas did indeed practice human sacrifice, although it was not as widespread as the apologists of the Conquest, such as Cristobal de Molina, had suggested.

intentional. The *HM* chooses the sites of Mullucocha, Ocsha, and Pumarauca.<sup>184</sup> Against the backdrop of these sources of life, Paria Caca offers humanity the possibility of merciful gods. Huallallo's cult evokes those more jealous gods that can only be placated by killing. Both cannot endure in the source (*cocha*, lake) of existence. The lake, where life begins, is the setting where life in relation to the gods is redefined.

*Huarochiri* is closer, ethically, to the *Popul Vuh* than to either the Old or New Testament. This is not the God of Abraham (and Mohammed) testing the Patriarch's hand by demanding that he slay Isaac/Ishmael. Nor is it Jesus on the Cross, accepting the necessity of His own sacrifice. In monotheism, the all-powerful Creator demands a dire price from His adepts, who nonetheless insist on His innate "goodness."

Paria Caca is not all-powerful. He chafes at deities who demand human victims, even though he cannot promise an absolute victory over them. Sometimes, the contest ends in a cosmic stalemate: Paria Caca on the coast, Huallallo in the eastern regions of Anti. In the mountains, the Incas occupy a Middle Ground. Nonetheless, as previously cited in the *HM* (22, 112) the Incas' ethos is closer to the hated Huallallo, having instituted their royal rite of human sacrifice, the *Capac Hucha*: "Reportedly they [the Incas] gave Pacha Camac each year what's called a Capac Hucha, namely, human beings, both female and male from Tahuantin Suyo, the four quarters of the world." By championing Humanity's cause, by putting the grief of the father whose son will be sacrificed above the needs of sacrificial authority, the *HM* sets the value of life above Incan imperial aims. Life is valued above Huallallo, and above the Conquistadors who burn Paria Caca's priests at the stake: "When the Vira Cocha's, the Spaniards, arrived there, they kept asking insistently, 'What about this huaca's silver and

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<sup>184</sup> "El santuario de Paria Caca" 15.

garments?’ But the thirty [huacsakuna-priests] refused to reveal anything. *Because they did, the Spanish Vira Cochac got furious, and, ordering some straw piled up, they burned Casa Lliuya.* When half the straw had burned, the wind began to blow it away. And so, although this man suffered horribly, he did survive. But by that time the others had handed the clothing and the rest of the things over to the Spaniards” (HM 18, 97). [Italics mine].

### 3.3 Maiming the Body and Fortifying the Soul-the Place of Disability in the PV and the HM

In their insistence that gods are not all-powerful, all-knowing, or all good, the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* share nothing with Old World faith. By lauding disobedience towards the gods, they shared less with Aztec fatalism and Inca absolutism, both rooted in submission to implacable solar deities. Transgressing conceptions of Deity on the spiritual plane, these texts transgress the notion of the physically perfect hero. Prince Charming can limp.

Hindu literature experiments with heroes’ physical imperfection in the primacy of the idea over the illusion of matter. Ganesha, the remover of obstacles, is decapitated by his father, Lord Shiva. Shiva regretted his crime and replaced the boy’s head with that of an elephant. In a moral sense, Ganesha-worship exalts deformity. However in monotheistic and Aztec theory, deformity was divinely ordained punishment. The lame, or simply the elderly (as in Rojas’ *La Celestina*) and the poor were stereotyped as witches and ghouls. Aztec culture displayed deformed subjects as freaks in Montezuma’s royal gardens, a practice that arose from their tendency to conflate physical and spiritual perfection.<sup>185</sup> As for the Incas, on their New Year festival of *Capac Raymi* foreigners, and the lame, were forced to temporarily abandon their

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<sup>185</sup> Ortega Ojeda and Lina Zythella in “El calmecac como forjador de ideologos” (130-143) in *El Mundo Indigena* 132. In Nahuatl, the term cited by Ortega Ojeda is “rostro y corazon,” literally, “countenance and heart.”

capital Cuzco so as not to pollute it with their imperfection.<sup>186</sup> Perfection was physical and lineage based: one had to be flawless in a corporeal sense, as well as belong to the right family or clan. For the people of Huarochiri, historically, perfection may have been something to avoid. Researchers such as Sabine MacCormack (1991) and Carolyn Dean (2010) highlight the role that physical beauty played in selecting child-sacrificial victims for Inca coronations. Hence, scarring children so that the Inca's emissaries would not choose them for immolation illustrates the values of imperfection. Mayan and Andean non-Incan culture did not conflate exterior and interior beauty. In their eyes, as in Hinduism, heroes could be disfigured and disabled.

The *Popul Vuh* demonstrates this flexibility towards the body during the Twins sojourn in Xibalba's House of Bats. This was the most perilous of the Underworld ordeals: "To come before these [the bats] is to be finished off at once" (*PV* Tedlock 125). Unmoved, the Twins prepare to survive the night by concealing themselves in their hunters' bow and arrow casings. "When they were inside they just slept in their blowgun; they were not bitten by the members of the household" (*PV* Tedlock 125). Morning, (they hope) will dispel the flying vampires. There is of course a fallacy here, as the Sun has not yet risen in the world (because it is Hunahpu himself who will be transformed into the big star later). Darkness shrouds the Twins in their weapons' sheaths, where they cannot sense the coming dawn. When Hunahpu, impatient to proceed, lifts his head to peer outside, he is beheaded in a flash by Zotz, the vampire bat. "So he kept trying to look out the muzzle of his blowgun, he tried to see the dawn. And then his head was taken off by a snatch-bat, leaving Hunahpu's body still stuffed inside" (*PV* Tedlock, 125-6).

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<sup>186</sup> Martin de Murua, in Chapter XXXVIII (450) states categorically that on festival days such as these, all imperfect undesirables must leave Cuzco, the Inca capital, although they were allowed back afterwards.



Hunahpu's "losing his head," literally and figuratively, restructures the hierarchy he shares with Ixbalaamque. (In addition, the decapitation connotes lack of self-control on Hunahpu's part). Changes of dynasty and re-orderings of power appear in Mayan iconography as the alternating glyphs of serpent and bat, and the bat figures widely in the hieroglyphs of Late Classic Period cities.<sup>187</sup> In line with this idea of dynastic change, Hunahpu's beheading heralds, momentarily at least, the ascension of Xibalba over the Twins. In a deeper sense, the roles of the Twins are inverted.

Reversing the traditional primacy of the firstborn, the younger Ixbalaamque is on his own. He must retrieve, and reattach, the head of his older sibling. In the immediate aftermath of the bat's attack, Ixbalaamque is crushed: " 'What have you done?' He no longer moves; now there is only heavy breathing. After that, Ixbalaamque despaired: 'Alas! We've given it all up!' he said" (*PV* Tedlock 126). Yet somehow, this most severe of incapacities, physical beheading, the literal separation of mind and body, does not presage physical death. Nor will it excuse Hunahpu from playing on the ball court! Ixbalaamque's initial shock subsides, and he soon engineers the recovery of his brother's head. To do this, he assumes the leadership reserved for the older sibling. Metaphorically and emotionally, Ixbalaamque (unlike his Twin) keeps his head about him. He does not mourn Hunahpu, because to mourn would be to assent to the reality of the latter's death, and Ixbalaamque refuses to regard Hunahpu's condition as irreversible. The Twins continue the Xibalbans' noxious game, until they beat them at it.

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<sup>187</sup> Houston. "In the Shadow of a Giant" 3: "An undeniable feature of classic Maya settlements of any size is the presence of king, magnate, and court..." and one of the most important rivals of the great Mayan center Tikal, formerly called Two Waters, in Guatemala, later became known as "El Zotz" (the bat, in Quiche Mayan). Its dynasty is marked by a hieroglyphic bat head on wooden lintels still evident on the site's constructions.

The lone Twin turns to nature to retrieve Hunahpu's head.<sup>188</sup> Ixbalaamque takes council with the forest animals, learning from them all (except bats). Human/animal dialogue is represented by Ixbalaamque's understanding of the messages from humanity's "four-legged brothers. "After that, Ixbalaamque summoned all the animals: coati, peccary, all the animals, small and great" (*PV* Tedlock 126). Ixbalaamque receives aid from the flora and fauna, aid that would be imperceptible to someone of a lesser sensitivity and a lesser sense of humor. By conversing with his four-legged brothers (as his mother conversed earlier with owls), the Twin surpasses the Creator Gods, who could never comprehend animals' chattering.

Animal food enables Hunahpu's resurrection. In Mayan thought, food is bestowed by the gods as a gift, but the gods need nutrition (praise) as much as their creation needs food. The animal, the human, and the Divine are interdependent. For the Aztec human blood was the principal ingredient of sacrifice. Incas occasionally interred "perfect" children on mountain slopes; heretics in European sacrifices could not be bled (the Church could not shed blood) and so they were burnt alive, after being "relaxed" to the secular jurisdiction of the monarchy. In late-Classic and post-Classic Mayan culture, genital and tongue perforation replaced human sacrifice, as the sacred element, *chu'lel*, the spirit of life, was just as palatable to the gods in small quantities as in large draughts.

Ixbalaamque knows that what animals do best is forage for their own food:

“ ‘Whatever your foods are, each one of you: that's what I summoned you for, to bring your food here,’ Ixbalaamque told them [the animals]. ‘Very well,’ they replied, then they went to get what's theirs, then indeed they all came back. There's the one who only brought his rottenwood. There's the one who only brought leaves. There's the one who only brought stones. There's the one who only brought earth, on through the varied food of the animals, small and great, until the very last one remained: the coati. He brought a squash, bumping it

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<sup>188</sup> We may perceive a commonality of thought between Buddhism and Mayan thought, in that the world appears shaped by our perceptions. Ixbalaamque does not see physical death as the end; therefore it is not the end.

along with his snout as he came. And this became a simulated head for Hunahpu” (PV Tedlock 127).

In keeping with the shamanic vision of the text, Ixbalaamque benefits from the animals’ and plants’ contributions. He winds in and out of all modes of being, and synthesizes them in this Uleew, our tangible Earth.<sup>189</sup> As opposed to Ixbalaamque who conjoins and unifies, the Lords of Xibalba, in a not so subtle Mayan reference to their own squabbling elites of the Classic Period, favor dichotomizing techniques that instill fear: isolation, darkness, disfigurement. The Lords disconnect and divide, rejoicing at mutilation. “And elsewhere, the head meanwhile went rolling onto the court, in accordance with the word of One and Seven Death, and all the Xibalbans were happy over the head of Hunahpu” (PV Tedlock 126).

Ixbalaamque’s name contains within it the substantive “Balaam.” Literally, *balaam* is the jaguar, but the word “balaam” is also associated with a “seer”.<sup>190</sup> The seer, the “jaguar-prophet,” sees an uninterrupted continuum underlying the maze of disparate events. Happiness, sadness, life and death, Hunahpu’s beheading, the coati’s offering of the squash as a supplemental head, the Xibalbans’ joy, his own despair, are transitional phases. None of these transitions, including physical decapitation, hinders the shaman (jaguar, seer) whose quest also assumes many guises through time: “Such was the defeat of the rulers of Xibalba. The boys accomplished it only through wonders, only through self-transformation” (PV Tedlock 138).

Shamanic transformation includes befriending foes, (as Ixqiq did with her owls) particularly when the foes are not wholly committed to the shaman’s annihilation. Earlier,

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<sup>189</sup> Saravia and Guarchaj. *Popul Vuh, (Poopol Wuj)* 71.

<sup>190</sup> Rodrigo Guarchaj and Albertina Saravia, in their bilingual Spanish-Quiche edition of the *Popul Vuh, (Poopol Wuj)* give us a possible origin (212) for this more esoteric meaning for “balaam”: the Quiche ruler K’ucumatz, mentioned in the dynastic lists of the final segment of the *Popul Vuh*, was supposed to have been able to transform himself into a jaguar (*balaam*) for seven days. I believe that the association of “jaguar” and “seer” in Mayan literature arises, in part, from this reference to the shape-shifting ruler of the Quiche Maya.

when jaguars salivated for the flesh of the Twins, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque quieted their hunger by feeding them with bones, and emerged unscathed from the House of Jaguars. “After that, the jaguars were wrestling around there, over the bones” (*PV* Tedlock 125). As Ixq'iq proved earlier, if human/godly rescuers are lacking, knowledge of animal ways can suffice.

So can inanimate objects. When obsidian razors clamored for the Boys' sacrifice, the Twins quieted them by promising them a better destiny than the one allotted to them in Xibalba: “And this is when it was ordained that they be cut clear through with knives. It was intended to be quick, intended that they should die, but they did not die. They spoke to the knives then, they instructed them: ‘This is yours, the flesh of all the animals,’ they told the knives, and they no longer moved-rather, each and every knife put down its point” (*PV* Tedlock 122-3).

Prior to Hunahpu's decapitation, the Twins survived because their solidarity of Two had mitigated the loneliness of the Underworld. But when Ixbalaamque is One, when he is utterly alone, the narrative of the *Popul Vuh* still does not succumb to tragedy. Moments of pure solitude allow individuals to perceive their place in the web of Creation. Hunahpu is one part of the metaphysical unity, the Mayan version of the Andean tinku that the Twins embody. When Hunahpu's physical presence is temporarily removed, Ixbalaamque, alone, refines his ability to confront Evil. Unhindered by the terrors of Xibalba, the solitary Twin maintains his inter-species solidarity, joining with the plants and animals to resurrect his brother in the Underworld ball game. Through Ixbalaamque's faith in the reconstruction of his maimed brother, the jaguar/seer redeems his “other half.” In Mayan culture, Hunahpu is sometimes interpreted as the other part of Ixbalaamque's Self, the part whose passions he cannot always carefully direct.

Mutilation, including beheading, does not presage marginalization in the *PV*. Mutilation facilitates the rebirth of self.<sup>191</sup> Shamans in Mayan art, and in contemporary Andean custom, undergo symbolic death and dismemberment during apprenticeship. By feeling the worst suffering, the shaman gains compassion, so that he/she is able to practice *before* he preaches.

In the *Popul Vuh* the interchangeability of the Twins is insinuated. In *Huarochiri* the instantiations defy linear chronology. We know that his son Huatyacuri has witnessed his [Paria Caca's] birth: "It was at this time that the one called Paria Caca was born in the form of five eggs on Condor Coto mountain. A certain man, and a poor friendless one at that, was the first to see and know the fact of his birth; he was called Huatya Curi, but was also known as Paria Caca's son" (*HM* 5, 54). Paria Caca is interchangeable with his four brothers; radiating his powers directly from nature, in flood and rain and their fiery correlates of red and yellow.<sup>192</sup> He is a deity of many simultaneous countenances. Like the Lakota Sioux *naghi*, spirit brothers who assume different forms in order to teach humanity different lessons, Paria Caca's selves are temporary embodiments of energy in a visible form that is comprehensible to human subjects.

One of Paria Caca's countenances-his son- is disfigured, maimed during the celebrations for his father: "During Paria Caca's victory, a certain woman named Mana Namca appeared a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruinchu. This woman lived below Mama, somewhere down there. It was to conquer her that Paria Caca came to her. Mana Namca also burned in the form of a fire. Making an entry through Tumna, Paria Caca attacked her. She

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<sup>191</sup> Rita M. Palacios notes that among modern-day Mayan writers, such as Luis de Leon, there is a tendency to see Ixbalaamque and Hunahpu as one and the same person. (See: "El tiempo principia en Xibalba" 577-88).

<sup>192</sup> In Chapter 5 of *Huarochiri*, Salomon specifies the red, yellow, and blue colors of the llamas in Tamta Namca's herds, (*HM* 5, 55). In my opinion these colors, associated with complementary elements-fire, air and water-embodied Nature and Paria Caca's control of it. What Tamta Namca uses as symbols of spurious authority, Paria Caca uses to establish a kinder cosmic order.

shot from below and hit the foot of one of Paria Caca's offspring, the one named Choque Huampo" (*HM* 8, 68-9). Choque Huampo's disability does not disable him. The lame son deserves the highest praise, higher than other sacred beings, or geological huacas. As Paria Caca commands: " 'All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest' " (*HM* 8, 69).

After being maimed in Paria Caca's tournament with Mana Namca, Choque Huampo does not become an object of pity. The mark of his injury, his lameness, immortalizes his bravery. His lameness underlines his aspect as a protective "huaca;" immobility allows him to fulfill other military tasks. He becomes the eternal guardian angel who keeps Hell out of the garden. Choque Huampo is the watchman who assures that Mana Namca never returns from the ocean to which Paria Caca has condemned her: " 'I can't go back. I'll keep watch over that woman Mana Namca from right here, just in case she comes back,' Choque Huampo said to him [Paria Caca]. His father said, 'Very well then,' and made provisions to supply him with all his food" (*HM* 8, 69).

Disfigurement in the *HM* prefigures heroism and renewal. It does so when the head of another *huaca*, Maca Calla, aids a shaman escaping Paria Caca's fire rain. In that episode, the dismembered head flies away with the man clinging to it, "instantly transformed into a mighty falcon" (*HM* 26, 128). The falcon/severed head may symbolize Paria Caca himself, who at birth "flew forth from the five eggs in the shape of five falcons" (*HM* 5, 59).

Bodily imperfection does not impede one from entering the realm of the sacred in *Huarochiri*. Neither can deformity be magically cured, for though Paria Caca lauds his son's prowess, the god cannot heal his son's lameness. Undaunted, Choque Huampo persists in

battling Huallallo by staving off his female consort, Mana Namca, and Paria Caca accepts his son's offer of help notwithstanding his disability. Why relegate the lame hero to inaction, or pity, when his spirit is indomitable? Choque Huampo is capable of "guarding the fort" against Huallallo's consort Mana Namca. Perhaps he is more trustworthy because of his immobility. Choque Huampo is a counterpoint to the angel who, in *Genesis*, guards the gates of Eden and prevents Adam and Eve from re-entering. As sentinel, Paria Caca's son assures humanity's survival in the "garden" (Huarochiri) should the Beast/Mana Namca ever return from the wilderness (the sea).

By protecting the people of the Middle World, Choque Huampo escapes social marginalization. Instead of diminishing the status of the subject, the text counsels adjustment to a changed situation. Choque Huampo's newly-handicapped status is enhanced after his injury, and the rites to honor him lasted well into the colonial period. "People respected these sacred edicts, and in accordance with them all the coca producers from Saci Caya, Chontay, Chichima, Mama, Huayo Calla, and Sucya Cancha would bring coca to Choque Huampo first before all others. *They carry on the custom secretly to this day*" (HM 8, 69). [Italics mine].

For Choque Huampo, the ontological definition of self embraces his physical crippling. What he does with that crippling expands the mission which the text assigns him. Correct application of physical limitation, from mobile warrior to sentinel, enables Chuqi Huampo to retain his protagonism in the battle against the Fire Sacrificers, Huallallo Caruinchu and Mana Namca. He gains his father's admiration, and he gains ours. "Nonetheless, it was Paria Caca who won and expelled her [Mana Namca] into the ocean/lake. After he defeated them, he went back to his child Choque Huampo, who sat there lame with a broken foot" (HM 8, 69).

Spartan officials left deformed children on the hills to die. In contrast, Paria Caca's lame son becomes humanity's guardian. The veneration which *Huarochiri* accords Choque Huampo is not incongruous in the Paria Caca mythic cycle. The tenor of these teachings offers a more compassionate world view towards the disabled than that found in Western or Eastern societies. In the second supplement of the *HM*, Paria Caca's parental instinct extends explicitly to children born with deformities. Unlike the Spartans, deformed children in non-Incan Peru lived. Moreover, they were consecrated to the gods. At the child's third birthday, the parents used to say: "Fathers and brothers/Today we'll cut the hair of this *ata*, this *illa*/For he's Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's *ata* and *illa*/And it's they who have sent him to me to be born so" (*HM* Supplement II, 152).<sup>193</sup> Seeing as perfect children could be kidnapped by the Inca's officials for coronation sacrifices, Paria Caca's protection of imperfection resonated with hope for the child's family, and survival for Huarochiri's peoples.

Deformed children are described as extraordinary babies who have been touched by lightning. During the ceremony of the "extraordinary" child's birth, the unusual features are celebrated by their family as a gift from Paria Caca. Offerings purge the parents of any previous wrongdoing which would have been taken as a causal explanation for the child's deformity. (Failure to perform one's duty is taken to be the causal motive for unusual events in *Huarochiri*). Guilt is imputed to the parent, as opposed to the Biblical/Koranic injunction against the crippled person, a theological manner of blaming the victim. The consequences of veering from sacred teachings are evident during dances, which the *huacsas*, (the ministering priests), must perform to perfection: "The *huacsas* reportedly perform this dance with

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<sup>193</sup> The terms *ata* and *illa* refer, among other things, to irregular births, attributed to lightning. (See note 879, in *HM* Supplement II, 151)



absolutely no interruption. If someone who stops dancing ever happens to die, people comment about him, ‘He died because of the fault he committed’ ” (*HM* 9, 73).

During the procession to dedicate the child to Paria Caca, the family brandishes a deer head. “On that occasion, beforehand, the five in-laws would catch and bring back a brocket deer, or a taruca deer, or any other animals that live on the wild upper slopes” (*HM* Supplement I, 146). Deer figure in Peruvian murals from the remotest period, and one deer mural in the province of Lambayeque has been identified by archaeologist Ignacio A. Mendez as a 4,000 year old artwork, perhaps the oldest surviving one in the Americas. I would suppose the deer head carried in the *HM* to be an attribute of Paria Caca in his water-god avatar. In areas where potable water is scarce, such as the American Southwest, deer and mountain goats function as guides to water sources.<sup>194</sup> Since Paria Caca quenches Huallallo’s fire, and since the deformed child is dedicated but not sacrificed to the water god, the deer in the *HM* may be an avatar of Paria Caca himself.

The *Supplements* are the most recondite segments of the *HM*, because they appear to have no direct narrative relation to the rest of the text. However, if we interpret the text as a mosaic, as a kaleidoscopic and non-linear whole, the ethical significance of the supplements is clear. They state the values by which the community formulates its concepts of good and evil. As such they express what Yanez Del Pozo calls the “philosophy” of *Huarochiri*.<sup>195</sup> Philosophically, there is an undeniable connection between the *Supplements* and the Paria Caca cycle. These ‘extra-textual’ writings consecrate individuals whose physiognomy is viewed as

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<sup>194</sup> Re: Robicsek Collection in Mint Museum, Charlotte, North Carolina: several pieces of Pueblo Indian pottery sport the deer/water motif. Northern Peru’s arid climate, where the Lambayeque deer mural was unearthed, is comparable to the living space of the Pueblo Indians, spurring comparable climate-fauna associations.

<sup>195</sup> *Yanantin* 10-11. Yanez del Pozo stresses the structural consistency of Andean thought, binding it to ethical aspects of other Western thought systems more commonly denoted as “philosophy.”

“flawed.” The most outstanding example of a physically flawed hero in the text is Paria Caca’s son Choque Huampo. In the supplements, all disabled children become, by inference, Paria Caca’s children.

Deformity, disfigurement, and injury triggered binding obligations between Paria Caca and the peoples who worshipped him. For this reason, the barrier between life and sacrificial death was guarded by an injured soldier. Choque Huampo’s injury transformed him, but it did not weaken him. Carolyn Dean has often remarked how “perfect miniatures,” beautiful children, could be chosen for the sporadic Inca state sacrifices. In *Huarochiri*, flawed miniatures lived, and families rejoiced. Andean and Mayan philosophy saw injury/deformity in a neutral or even positive light. Severe/impossible disablement, (beheading/mutilation) and lesser damage (scars, lameness) attest that one has engaged the forces of evil. This is a compassionate etiology for occurrences beyond the individual’s control: the birth of a child with physical defects, and disfigurement due to warfare. Elizabethan courtier Sir Philip Sydney’s utterance, “We laugh at deformity,” summarized the European attitude towards disability during in the Early Modern Period, but The *PV* and the *HM* subvert that definition of physical abnormality.

This is personified etiology, explaining events in the natural world. Hunahpu and Choque Huampo exalt the physical injury *per se* and Hunahpu’s calabash head does not detract from his physical allure. “The face wasn’t finished any too quickly; it came out well” (*PV* Tedlock 127). Being lame does not hinder Choque Huampo from successfully keeping cannibal gods away, because he employs his lameness wisely. Nature is animate, and nature perseveres, including when it is disfigured. If he cannot now move about as before, Choque Huampo continues to repel Huallallo and Mana Namca throughout space and time (*pacha*),

achieving grandeur by virtue of his immobility/incapacity. In the *Popul Vuh*, the maiming is more extreme than in the *HM*; it is beheading. Still, Hunahpu's squash-head continues to taunt the Xibalbans. Their rubber ball of choice had been the severed head of Hunahpu's father(s). As for the younger Hunahpu, he is incorrigible even in vegetable (squash) form.

Hunahpu, headless appearances to the contrary, possesses two elements that differentiate him from his decapitated father. The first is his ability to gather wisdom from experience. The second is the resourcefulness of his other half, Ixbalaamque. Hunahpu, the text tells us, had been mutilated before. Before the descent into Xibalba, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque had come to blows with the haughty Guacamaya bird in our Middle World. Here in Uleew, the Guacamaya mimicked the unborn sun of the future human era; in that darker time, the Guacamaya illuminated the gloom with his shining plumage.<sup>196</sup> He is a braggart, the false sun of Xibalba which the Twins extinguish.

When Hunahpu denounced the Guacamaya as a fake, echoing Tamta Namca's skepticism vis-à-vis his father in law's godliness in the *HM*, the avian villain retaliated by wrenching off Hunahpu's arm. "Suddenly Hunahpu appeared, running. He set out to grab him, but actually, it was the arm of Hunahpu that was seized by Seven Macaw. He yanked it straight back, he bent it back at the shoulder. Then Seven Macaw tore it right out of Hunahpu" (*PV* Tedlock 78-9). Unperturbed, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque concoct a plan involving their animal allies. Their course of action echoes Ixq'iq's alliance with the owls, and foreshadows Ixbalaamque's master-plot with the animals on the ball-courts of Xibalba. Coached by the Twins, the Peccary and the Coati (Humanity's Grandmother and Grandfather), delude the Guacamaya into thinking that they will cure him of the wounds inflicted by Hunahpu. They

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<sup>196</sup> Rivera-Dorado discusses this issue of false light and image in "Espejos Magicos en la Ceramica Maya" (79).

gain access to Guacamaya's dwelling, where they filch the trophy of Hunahpu's arm. Promptly, the Coati and Peccary return the limb to its former owner. "The genius of the grandmother, the genius of the grandfather did its work when *they* took back *their* arm: it was implanted and the break got well again" (*PV* Tedlock 81). Note that the text has *them* (the Twins/Grandparents) taking back *their* arm, a syntactical hint that Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, and Grandmother/Grandfather may be different countenances of the same person. In Mayan and Andean thought, each being has his shadow self, though which of the Twins is shadowing which is an open question.

*Reattached* arms foreshadow reattached heads. In Xibalba, the Coati brings Hunahpu back to life when he *reappears* in the story at Ixbalaamque's request, nosing along the portentous squash that replaces Hunahpu's head. The Coati, Mayan co-creator of the universe, is Creator again when he reattaches Hunahpu's arm and brings the squash for his head, re-establishing vigor (the arm) and intellect (the head).

Meanwhile, Ixbalaamque has perfected their mother Ixq'iq's ability to delude the Lords of Xibalba. His abilities are unnoticed by the Lords, since women (Ixq'iq) and younger siblings (Ixbalaamque) were "disenfranchised." Viewed as weaker, their ruses remained undetected. Women and children would not be suspected of possessing the sophistication to lie.<sup>197</sup> In a distorted mirror image of Mayan primogeniture, the older Twin Hunahpu loses his head, becoming a more vulnerable reflection of the younger Twin Ixbalaamque, who keeps his wits about him. If we view the Twins as a single being, they are as inseparable as the quintuple incarnations of Paria Caca. Xibalba is, as stated previously, the *Place of Fear*, and the Twins

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<sup>197</sup> A classic example of the same female/younger sibling roundabout defiance may be seen in the biblical book of Genesis, wherein Rebecca (matriarch) colludes with Isaac (the younger twin) to successfully rob his older twin Esau of his birthright. Interestingly, both Hunahpu and Esau are described as hunters, emphasizing their power and their precedence in the social order of their respective (Mayan, Israelite) societies.

exemplify contradictory and complementary reactions to terror. Hunahpu represents extreme loss of equilibrium; Ixbalaamque represents resolve and balance. Hunahpu's name signifies the Hunter, literally, "One Blow gunner" (*PV* Tedlock endnote p.77, on p. 238), while Ixbalaamque stands for the night-jaguar *Balaam*. Ixbalaamque hides in darkness. He is Hunahpu's shadow. Like the jaguar, he is "the sun's hidden aspect" (*PV* Tedlock, note p. 77, on p. 239). Taken together, they mark the tendencies of impulsiveness (Hunahpu) and restraint (Ixbalaamque) in the Janus form.

The impulsive Hunter/Hunahpu strides forth before the Xibalban sun rises and is beheaded by the vampire bat, Zotz, while the more pensive night-jaguar/Ixbalaamque remains in darkness. He ponders how to restore his brother's head, and their integrity, as a Duality. In my analysis, Hunahpu is the conscious mind, the hunter tracking his prey. He is saved by his less obtrusive, "younger" shadow self, Ixbalaamque: the jaguar, the intuitive mind. When the hunter is temporarily dismembered, Ixbalaamque's creativity makes him whole again. Bodily mutilation (losing the head) is overcome when the subconscious mind unifies the disparate elements of head, squash, gods, humans and animals, in a web-like unity. To be at one with oneself, in Mayan terms, is to unify conscious and intuitive components. Unity draws upon the characteristics which differentiate our daylight selves (Hunahpu, the Hunter; in Freudian terms, the rational mind) from our nighttime selves (Ixbalaamque, the Visionary; in Freudian terms, the subconscious mind, the dream state in which all things are possible).

We move from twins to quintuplets. Paria Caca's selves are himself and his four brothers, one of whom remains unnamed, a fact which unnerved Father Avila in his transcription of these stories. His commentary expostulates: "The names of these five brothers are Paria Caca-Churapa-Puncho-Paria Carco; We don't know the name of one of these five!"

(*HM* 8, 67). The nameless entity may signify energy to be embodied, a self of ongoing Creation which we, the reader/listener, must complete. In the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, Paria Caca's selves are not as distinct as Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. But two of his progeny, Huatyacuri and Choque Huampo, are each very much their own persons. We have made Huatyacuri's acquaintance as he witnessed the birth of his father in Chap. 5. In Andean terms that would have delighted Freud: the child is (ontologically) father to the man. In the moral framework of the *HM*, this reverse-birth metaphor denotes adult responsibility and self-mastery: Huatyacuri sees his father "born," perhaps spiritually, within himself. The need for self-mastery, for dominating the child-like within us in order to assume the parental role, comes to the fore even more in the segments dealing with Choque Huampo's maiming and the injury that, as opposed to the happier resolution of the *Popul Vuh*, cannot be undone.

Inexplicably to us, with our cultural penchant for happy endings, Choque Huampo does not ask his father Paria Caca to heal him, though one would assume this well within the god's ability. Nor can Paria Caca offer any physical healing. The son's request is that he be allowed to combat Huallallo, albeit in a more sedentary capacity as border sentinel; Paria Caca grants the request with full honors. If we again apply, (anachronistically) Freudian terms to this segment as we did with the *Popul Vuh*, we see that the conscious mind (recognition of the gravity of the bodily harm) overcomes all hint of the subconscious (the irrational hope that the injury can be reversed). Acceptance of empirical reality-which Ixbalaamque cannot do in the Bat House-leads to Choque Huampo's deification. His leg injury is permanent, but his disability signals heroism, and so there is no need for supernatural "re-attachment." Hunahpu was made whole again, though Choque Huampo can never be.

In the *HM*, descriptions of war/cruelty are not altered by the supernatural. Though Choque Huampo's biography unwinds within the context of myth (as do the Bible/Koran), his story relates a fate that must be accepted, not lamented. Despite its debilitating character, as a maimed foot in the Old World was synonymous with social exclusion, the maimed foot of this New World huaca is revered. Choque Huampo's "imperfect" huaca is mightier precisely because of its handicap. The injured huaca commands respect; he receives the coca leaf to chew in perpetuity, metaphor for earth's plenty. It is an honor Paria Caca concedes only to those he deifies, such as the man who offers him sustenance when, camouflaged as a "poor miserable stranger," he visits the villagers of Yaru Tini to punish them for their miserliness (*HM* 25, 125).

*Huarochiri* communicates a survival strategy for the non-Incan Andean environment. In the Rimac and Lurin valleys that border Huarochiri, society flourished in an unfriendly terrain, due to the co-operative, interwoven nature of the agriculture. If the triple entity of the village, the lineage group (*ayllu*), and the fields were to prosper, no member of human society could be discounted, disabled or not. Tasks were delegated according to the abilities of the subject. 21<sup>th</sup> century Huarochiri preserves the categories of community membership which allow work to be repartitioned: "citizen tributaries," "elders," "widowed or alone," "forthcoming or young" (Frank Salomon. *The Cord Keepers* 191). Lame warriors cannot run, but they can still guard and kill enemies. Thus Choque Huampo's willingness to succor the people of Huarochiri elevates him to huaca status more than his battle prowess. There is nothing magical about this, enmeshed though we are in the myth-cycles of the *HM*. Choque Huampo's wartime resolve could be emulated by any villager with enough gumption, whether

or not they are Paria Caca's children. Each villager does what he/she can, within their categories and within their limitations.

To be fair, Ixbalaamque's gumption following Hunahpu's beheading outshines the use of magic in the *PV*'s text. Notwithstanding the differing importance attached to spells, the legends' emphasis on hope outweighs the supernatural special effects. Wizardry propels the narrative along more in Mayab than in Huarochiri, but in both cases magic is just a vehicle for the ethics which the text conveys. Choque Huampo's deification on the one hand, and the participation of the beheaded Hunahpu in the Xibalban ball-game on the other, remove corporeal perfection as a prerequisite for heroism. Deformation, "crippling" and disablement in the *PV* and the *HM* prepare the injured subject for a more glorious existence. Contravening notions in Western fairytales, in the Americas Prince Charming can use a crutch.

### *3.4 Failed Edens and Second Attempts at Creation: The Cycle Unwinds*

The Spanish Conquest, followed by centuries of exploitation and military coercion, forced Native Americans to question the efficacy of their own gods. It made some of them question the "goodness" of the Conquistadors' as well, who brutalized them in the name of other gods. Aztecs, whose world teetered on an apocalypse should their Sun god become dissatisfied with them, quickly embraced the Conquerors' beliefs. Mayan and Andean peoples (in this case, including the Incas) remained recalcitrant. Theologically, they were not waiting to be rescued (like the Aztecs) or redeemed (like the Europeans). "When the sun dies in the lower world it reappears in the skies,"<sup>198</sup> summarizes Miguel Rivera Dorado, referring to cyclical motifs on Mayan ceramics. Anthony Aveni noted that Mayan astronomers tracked cycles of

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<sup>198</sup> Rivera Dorado, "Espejos mágicos..." 81.



eclipses and reappearances of Venus at differing points along the Horizon, and this repetition would have obviated any idea of an “End of Days” fatalism. Eclipses signified horror and evil to the Aztecs (Anthony Aveni. *Skywatchers of the Ancient World* 28) but to the Maya eclipses were predictable, unpleasant, but survivable events: “By extending the base of observation over a long period of time, the [Mayan] astronomer soon could anticipate the likelihood of a clustering of eclipses over a short duration, or of long dry periods without eclipses...” (*Skywatchers*.....181). For the Andeans, the sun also had its temporary death. “In ancient times, the sun died. Because of his death it was night for five days. Rocks banged against each other” (*HM* 4, 53). But, as with Maya, Andean light is always reborn. Inca sovereigns did not believe they had to nourish the sun to retain their privileged status as the Sun’s children, and the peoples of Huarochiri believed the Sun was independent of the Incas altogether.

Mayan and Andean texts derided any nostalgia for lost Edens and Golden Ages. There is no need of redemption in the *PV* and the *HM*, because nothing has been lost, and cycles roll on. The past, including the Amerindian past prior to European invasions, was no elusive Paradise. The past was Hell, or worse. It was the fiendish statues that welcomed the visitor to Xibalba; it was the lake of fire where Huallallo ate the children sacrificed to him. Contrary to glorifications of Native American moral character common to Americanist (non-Indian) writers, including Las Casas, the Native Americans authors of our epics felt no need to prettify either their own past or the grisly colonial present. There is no lost Eden to recover either in the *Popul Vuh* or the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. Survival is dependent on remaking an ugly World, not searching for lost Camelots. Paria Caca and the Hero Twins render Biblical-style salvation unnecessary. The protagonists in our stories do not feel any debt to the gods (a la Azteca) or any need to be rescued on Judgment Day (a la monotheism). In these stories, the protagonists

save themselves. They then show others how to do the same, instilling in future generations a distrust of the earlier, homicidal deities.

Aztec religion supplied the Sun with human captives (invariably their Tlaxacllan enemies) lest the Sun itself should be extinguished.<sup>199</sup> There was little distance between that and the hell-mouths painted in Mexican and Peruvian colonial churches, assuring that those who violated Christ's word would be sacrificed by Spain's Church. In the face of European theatrics, Mayan and Andean subjects remained skeptical. Those Amerindians who accepted Christianity did not view the actions of the Conquistadors as reflective of Jesus' teachings, and used Christianity to morally discredit the Colonial system that perverted it.

Mayans and Andeans moved residence and ignored residence rulings without colonial permission, making authorities lament their inability to control such factious populations. Late 17<sup>th</sup> century English pirate and gentleman William Dampier noted that for the Maya of Campeche, it was common to "fly away whole towns at once and settle themselves in the unfrequented woods to enjoy their freedom, and if they are accidentally discovered, they will remove again" (Garcia-Bergua. *Dos viajes a Campeche* 94-6). In the Andes, colonial map-drawing was burlesqued by Indians tacitly ignoring it: "...the community embodies immemorial land and water rights, considered to be the legacy of prehistory" (*The Cord Keepers* 44). Maya and non-Incan Andean cultures never subscribed to the wholesale acceptance of Conquest doctrine evident in the former Aztec empire. In the Incas' conquered Cuzco, colonial obedience was more ambivalent: the Virgin was transposed on to the mountainous form of the Pacha Mama, but the Pacha Mama's followers worshipped her independently of the Virgin.

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<sup>199</sup> L. Zythella Ortega Ojeda, in *El mundo Indigena*...131.

Instead of faithful servants of God/the gods, the *PV* and the *HM* portray unrepentant renegades. Ixq'iq eats of the forbidden fruit/skull of the calabash/cacao tree, (or is spat at by it, to be exact) but she enjoys it. Unlike Adam and Eve, who eat forbidden fruit and lose Heaven, Ixq'iq eats forbidden fruit and is freed from Hell. The head of One Hunahpu blesses her for her insubordination: "Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of the lord, a warrior, craftsman, orator. Rather, he will leave his daughters and sons. So it is that I have done likewise through you. Now go up there on the face of the earth; you will not die" (*PV* Tedlock 99). Ixq'iq's botanical fornication transforms her into the mother of Heroes. Her children will free the Middle World, Humanity's future home, from Xibalba's dictates. She goes "up there" on the face of the earth: Ixq'iq *ascends*. For Eve, the spatial path is the reverse; she is expelled from Eden, *descending* from Paradise to earth. Eve is cursed with painful childbirth, as Genesis tells us, and her two sons, Cain and Abel, become the prototype for endless bloodshed on earth. Ixq'iq's two sons become the glorious and rebellious model to be emulated, endlessly as well.

Mayan and Andean protagonists do not look for "Heaven" or perfection in a Western sense. Upper Worlds are just one recurring phase of existence alongside the Lower and Middle ones. Upper, Middle and Lower are matters of perspective emanating from the viewer's perspective, an idea alien to the unitary, Biblical/Koranic model of the universe. In the Amerindian texts, wisdom lies in negotiating the spiky terrain between the three Worlds, which overlap with each other at the least opportune moments. Professor Xenon Depaz remarks on the salience of the word *Chaupi* (mid-point) in *Huarochiri* for this reason: the overlap, as in the knots and cords of the quipu, is where people and minds meet. Due to a faulty overlap, humans have to *reconstruct* the badly-made universe. There is nothing to memorialize in the first

defective Creations. Compulsion to remake the original order, to rebel against it as Ixqiq does, is irrepressible.

The *PV* and the *HM* record the failed attempts at Creation which culminated in simpler life forms overcoming their stronger tormentors. “Their dogs and turkeys told them, ‘You caused us pain, you ate us, but now it is *you* whom we shall eat’” (*PV* Tedlock 72) and “Buck llamas started to drive men” (*HM* 4, 53). Is it possible to trace the Mayan and Andean tendency towards political fragmentation from these questionings of authority in the original chain of creation? When gods are deficient, any political leader will be even more so...particularly when he is anointed by the powers that fashioned such a dysfunctional universe.

Amerindian thinkers sought etiological justifications when nature baffled them. If the universe is flawed, (and our texts view it as such), the physical environment in which we live must be flawed as well. Mayan and Andean terrains are difficult to cultivate even in the best of conditions, and cursing the gods was more logical than blessing them in those conditions. The influence of environment on human development is recognized in relation to the Spanish Conquest,<sup>200</sup> but applicable, in this writer’s opinion, to many aspects of Mayan and Andean religion as well.

A beautiful dancer, Capyama, spilled her maize beer on the Andean ground and “the spot where she spilled it immediately turned into a spring,” (*HM* 31, 139). Corn equals water, water foments growth, and maize beer is the confluence of the two. Water and corn promise survival. Logically then, Grandmother Ixmucane keeps an anxious vigil over the corn-stalks that augur the Twins’ demise or triumph: “And this is their grandmother, crying and calling out

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<sup>200</sup> Michael Moseley, in his seminal *The Incas and their Ancestors* (276) saw the relation between war and eco-systems: “Forces of the new era, which destroy habitats and drive species extinction, impacted first upon the Native Americans.”

in front of the ears of green corn they left planted. Corn plants grew, then dried up. And this was when they were burned in the oven; then the corn plants grew again. And this was when their grandmother burned something, she burned copal before the ears of green corn as a memorial to them. There was happiness in their grandmother's heart the second time the corn plants sprouted" (PV Tedlock 139).

Corn and water, irrigation and cultivation, are indispensable in areas that combine jungle, cliff-mountains, and land so arid that underground aquifers must be sought. In Central America and the Andes, every drop of rainwater is preserved in terraced steppes so that corn and potatoes can be planted. These terrains were, in pre-Conquest times, traversed by extensive road networks: the *Qapac Nan* (High Roadway) of the Andes, and the interconnected *Sac Bes* (White Trails) of Mayab. The roads linked relatively self-sufficient family and clan parcels along their respective courses, the "ayllu"<sup>201</sup> in highland and coastal Peru; the "cuchteel" in Yucatec Mayab.<sup>202</sup> Large scale empires, (Inca, Aztec, Spanish), or the post-independence Latin American state, proved incapable of shattering these pre-Conquest familial and community ties.<sup>203</sup>

Monolithic agricultural solutions were untenable, since what prospered in one valley could fail in the next, but small-scale communities encountered their own solutions to issues of hunger and distribution. Any god/king/conqueror whose interests were inimical to the local

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<sup>201</sup> Alva and Longhena, in *The Incas* (74) aver: "Society was based on the family but from an administrative point of view the *ayllu* was more important. The *ayllu* was a sort of clan formed by a group of families that were linked by a common ancestor and which worked and lived together."

<sup>202</sup> Bracamonte y Sosa, in *Los Mayas y la tierra* (70) says: "In this sense the *cuchteel* was not only a political and territorial unit of various extended families, but also a residential unit of patrilocal character identified by a toponym, in which land property was collective, and in which the families could accede to land ownership as per their needs" [My translation].

<sup>203</sup> Garcia Gavita, José. "Pinceladas acerca de la historia de un pueblo maya: Yaxkukul, Yucatán, Mexico" pp. 67-83, in *El Mundo Indígena* 71. Traditional Mayan marking posts, such as deep-water wells and cross-roads, continue to define the parameters of the modern Maya village when settling legal boundary disputes.

good, and the local god, had to be resisted for hunger's sake. The resurgence of local, pre-Aztec and pre-Incan gods in the post Conquest period, documented by the *PV* and the *HM*, reflects the agricultural reality of their worshippers.

### 3.5 Staging Grounds for the War Between Good and Evil: Xibalba and Mullucocha

Following the rescue of the child from Huallallo's sacrifice, pitched battles are fought between the cannibal god and Paria Caca, re-fashioning the bonds between humans and gods in Huarochiri, and overturning the practice in which every second child is slain. The *HM* preserved historical memory: Gerald Taylor noted the presence of child sacrifice as a propitiatory offering vis a vis the natural elements in early Yauyo society. That period corresponds to the first confrontations between Yauyo and Yunca tribes in the Lurin valley, near Huarochiri, during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Taylor, the Hill of Huayllahuacran was a site of child-sacrifice in periods of draught. (*Camac, Camay and Camasca* 170) The struggle raged between the Yauyo god Paria Caca and the older Yunca practice, occasionally adopted by Yauyos, of infanticide to propitiate the gods.

Ridding both cultures of sacrifice indicated rejection of the religious order within the pre-Incan indigenous world. Questioning these practices directed a critique against the dominant elites of their own societies. It constituted a critique of Incan infanticide-sacrifices as well, such as the burying alive of young non-Incan subjects in their native villages after being paraded through Cuzco's conquered territories: "The Inca's *capac hucha* processions defined the extent of a community's lands, while at the same time imploring the deities to protect the well-being of the Inca" (*Religion in the Andes* 201).

The name of Paria Caca, one of whose connotations denotes “stranger” or “reddish mountain” (“El santuario de Paria Caca” 14) highlights his ambiguous position in the Andean cosmos. Astahuaman Gonzalez observes that such terms “may well indicate Paria Caca’s foreign nature in relation to Huallallo.” (14) Huallallo, by default, is the older and more established divinity. An alternate translation, which implies “thrower of sand and rocks” (Kemper-Columbus. “Map, Metaphor, Topos and Toponym” 10) evokes the eruptions of Paria Caca’s eponymous volcano/mountain.

In my opinion, Paria Caca’s eruptions, whether as man or mountain, portend the upheaval of the god’s ethical rebellion against Huallallo. Something was changing. The implacable relationship between Man and the gods was being modified in Andean terms, leading to the gradual disappearance of sacrifice among Huarochiri’s peoples in the pre-Inca period. Sacrifice and religious warfare re-surfaced in the Inca and Spanish periods, facts recorded by the *HM* in its later segments dealing with historical time.

Paria Caca was revered as one of the local “apus,” in Peru’s coastal highlands. He was worshipped by placing five stones, since five is Paria Caca’s emblematic number, as his manifestations are five-fold, on the altar. His sister Chaupi Namca received six stones, and the supreme earth god Pacha Camac received four (“El Santuario de Paria Caca” 7). They were the guardians of Huarochiri’s valleys. Today, the bifurcated peaks of Paria Caca’s mountain remain a center for pilgrimage of syncretic Andean/Catholic orientations. Adoration of the mountains, as Astahuaman-Gonzalez reminds us, preceded the growth of monotheism throughout the world (8). Abrahamic religions retain vestiges of this same mountain worship, whether it is Moses on Sinai or Jesus on the Hill of the Beatitudes.

Paria Caca's worship contrasted with more militarized strains of Peruvian civilization: the Moche with their adoration of Ai Aipec, the fang-toothed jaguar god (100-700 ACE), the Wari, whose armies exploded out of Ayacucho and passed through the Huarochiri area earlier (600-1100 ACE) and finally, the Inca (1200-1533). Human sacrifice, the dreaded *capac hucha*, was a sporadic but integral part of these previous Andean models. To question its rightness heralded a rupture with the theology that prevailed in Tahuantinsuyu till that time. In the roughly two hundred years between Wari's collapse and the Incan rise, Huarochiri knew a respite from sacrificial terror. In ceremonies of the Auquisna, Paria Caca's holiday, human sacrifice played no role at all (*Camac, Camay and Camasca* 82-3; see also *HM* 10, 78). With the Incas, and with Spain's "heretic burnings" the concept of an angry god/God reappeared, together with His need to kill the living human body. Andean peoples referred to their mutilated deities as "burned father, mutilated father" (*Religion in the Andes* 408) in remembrance of the physical torture that marked the Spanish colonial era; and perhaps the period of Inca imperialism as well.

In the *HM*, a new conception of man-god relations dawned on the shores of Lake Mullucocha. The lake is a microcosm of the spot where Huarochiri's particular cosmology is crystalized. It is a metonymic replication of Titicaca, where Andean thought situated the first beings of Viracocha's creation. In Mullucocha, Andean creation was altered, and a divergent picture painted. According to Paria Caca's wishes, the picture is etched "as red rain and yellow rain," (*HM* 26, 127) the colors of his anger. Fire (the red rain) and flooding (the yellow rain, rain that dislocates the soil and is muddied) are a twinning of opposites, of scorched and soggy earth. Water (Paria Caca) and fire (Huallallo) are complements, an Andean



climatological “tinku.” Their battle is repeated over and over, symbolizing Nature’s shifting equilibrium.

Under Huallallo’s aegis Mullucocha, not yet a lake, is submerged in blazing fires. In the wars with Paria Caca, red and yellow rains, (water that takes the color of fire) inundate Huallallo. Fortunately for humanity, Paria Caca’s fire-rain is more lethal than Huallallo’s fire, and fire-rain destroys the altars of human sacrifice once and for all. When he fights, Paria Caca employs rain in its noxious aspect, a murderous rather than nurturing element. Fire-rain eliminates the malevolent Huallallo, just as it had Huatyacuri’s nemesis Tamta Namca who had, like the Lords of Xibalba, pretended to be gods. “And at that time, hearing all about the things people had done, about how that man called Tamta Namca had said ‘I am a god’ and about how the man had himself worshipped, Paria Caca went into a rage over all these sins of theirs. Rising up as rain, he flushed them all away to the ocean” (*HM* 5, 59).

The Yauyo god had used the element of flood before, obliterating previous versions of humanity that mistreated the indigent poor. “Some people tried to escape, but wherever they fled the red rain caught up with them” (*HM* 26, 127). Paria Caca’s wrath evokes the Old Testament’s Jeremiah, punishing the decadent wealthy. As in post-Biblical legends of King Solomon, Paria Caca often shows up unannounced as a lowly vagabond. The post-Conquest literary tradition in Quechua preserves a tantalizing fragment of what may be a song of the Paria Caca cycle. It was rewritten in Spanish from coastal Quechua, conveying the rejection of a ragged, yet illustrious, stranger. Intriguingly, it is called the *Wasil’aykita, A song of Parac Hacienda, from Huarochiri [emphasis mine]*: “When I come to visit you/do not banish me from your home/because I am so forlorn/The Sun is my father; the Moon is my mother/You

may see this in my countenance....”<sup>204</sup> The *HM* in Chapter 13 designates the Sun and Moon as Paria Caca’s parents, marking this song as a potential reference to him.

*Huarochiri* describes a shifting cosmos, where immortality cannot be taken for granted even if one is a god. Life must be seized from the Sacrificer, repeatedly, just as the Andean farmer speaks of seizing life from the soil. In the *HM*, Paria Caca’s trajectory is indivisible from humanity’s, and power must be seized from Huallallo, who threatens Paria Caca and the human beings that he protects. This is why the narrative insists on the rescued boy’s father witnessing the titanic clash between Paria Caca and Huallallo. Paria Caca’s and humanity’s continuity can be assured, ending the slaughter in the Middle World (Kay Pacha) that we both inhabit, only if Huallallo is immobilized before the eyes of both humans and gods simultaneously. Human beings must bear testimony to Paria Caca’s defeat or triumph, because it is on behalf of human beings that the god fights. The presence of a spectator transforms a wrestling match into a restaging of the Divine order.

If Huallallo cannot be annihilated, he can at least be weakened. This juncture is where *Huarochiri* parts company with the Andean philosophy of tinku, the eternal flux of complementary principles, and resembles the *Popul Vuh*, with its steadfast opposition to the oppressor deities. There was no juggling act of opposites, with Paria Caca and Huallallo embodying antagonistic and interlocking poles. Axiologically, Paria Caca established an eternal asymmetry in order for sacrifice to end. Mullucocha thus marked a dethroning of the old cosmic order, not a temporary suspension of it. But it lurks, like Huallallo in Anti, behind the curtain.

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<sup>204</sup> Alcina Franch, J. *Mitos y literatura quechua* 78. The allusion to the Sun and Moon being the father of this forlorn beggar is particularly intriguing, as the *HM* suggests in Chapter 13, that Paria Caca and his possible sister Chaupi Namca may have been the children of the male Sun and the female sky goddess Hanan Maccla.

Paria Caca's red and yellow rain evokes fire, and fire ironically is Huallallo's weapon of choice. Here the myth cycle provides us with what James Frazier, in *The Golden Bough*, termed "sympathetic magic." A mirror image of magic is used to undo the ogre's spell. Red and yellow rain submerges Huallallo's red and yellow fire weapon, turning the burning pit into a thundering lake:

From early in the morning to the setting of the sun, Huallallo Carhuincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished. And the waters, the rains of Paria Caca, rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake. Since it wouldn't have fit in, one of Paria Caca's five selves, the one called Llacsá Churapa, knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters below. Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake. Nowadays this lake is called Mullu Cocha. As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire. And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest (*HM* 8, 68).

Rain hinders the monster, nearly drowning him. The drowning unfolds in a source of life (*cocha/lake*) whose name is *mullu*. In the *HM*, *mullu*, crunchy coral, is the delicacy of the gods, as chocolate is in Mayan tradition. Huallallo, on the other hand, eats human flesh, like the Aztecs' gods, and the dethroned Xibalban gods, did. From the point of view of *Huarochiri*, this sacred coral is a just replacement for human flesh. *Mullu* re-consecrates primeval life that emerged once from Titicaca, and then re-emerges, scathed but combatant, from the battle at Mullucocha. The lake's name *Mullucocha* hints at its teleology, being that the Huallallo-Paria Caca confrontation determines whether the gods will devour humans, or coral (*mullu*). In the *HM* *mullu* is conceived as the new food of the gods at Mullucocha.

In Incan thought, humanity was born at Titicaca, the vast *cocha/lake/ocean* of the Highlands. Humanity may have begun in Titicaca, but it is remade in *Huarochiri*, and divine decrees are reversed. In place of Huallallo's feasts, the *HM* gives us the festivals of the Auquisna/Chaycasna, the adoration of Our Father Paria Caca and Our Mother Chaupi Namca

(*HM* 9, 72). They were celebrated by Yunca and Yauyo peoples until the colonial regime replaced them with Corpus Christi, in attempt to extirpate, or co-opt, what Spain viewed as Andean “idolatry.”

In the *HM*, rebellion eliminates a Hell on earth (Huallallo’s pit of fire). In the *PV*, a similar rebellion saves the earth by descending temporarily into Hell. The Hero Twins are forced into the second option by the Lords of Xibalba who prefer to martyrize their victims from the safety of their Underworld caverns. In *Huarochiri*, Hell is in the Middle World; in the *Popul Vuh* Hell percolates below it. Boundaries are porous in both. In the Mayan imagination, the netherworld is also the transcendent beginning that regenerates from death. Life and death are sculpted into a continuum in the matrix of a cave.<sup>205</sup>

As in *Huarochiri*, the sources of life, these lakes and caves, are a bit of a nightmare, until they are rectified by the Hero Twins. Fire is preeminent in Xibalba as it was in Mullucocha, as we see in the Twins’ Underworld debut. The Lords had attempted to scald the Twins to death with a dissembled welcome, a hot-seat designed to turn them to ash. But it failed. “‘Sit here,’ they were told. They were wanted on the bench, but they didn’t want it. ‘This bench isn’t for us! It’s just a stone slab for cooking,’ said Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. They were not defeated” (*PV* Tedlock 119).

Insulting one’s host is unheard of among Mayan communities, yet Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque scoff at the Lords’ hospitality, demarcating their behavior as deviant by the norms of their own culture, (as well as by Spanish colonial protocol). Here the authors’ personal artistic vision, whoever they/he/she were, stands outside the constraints of tradition, as art should do, and propaganda does not. The Twins behavior vexes their demonic hosts, and

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<sup>205</sup> Rita Palacios. “Luis de Lion’s *El tiempo principio en Xibalba*” 584: “According to Sylvia Marcos, the Mesoamerican concept of duality possesses no equivalent in western thought, which can ‘largely explain the persistent barrier to penetrating and comprehending indigenous worlds.’”

the Lords have no precedents to comprehend such defiance. After all, the Twins' fathers had obeyed them...and received death as a reward for their fidelity to custom. Burned by the stone slab, the earlier victims' predicament provoked the merriment of their tormentors. Small wonder then, that the Xibalbans should be so frustrated by these less docile offspring, who invert the serpent-like laughter and re-direct it against the Lords.

As with *Huarochiri*, these segments hint at internal tensions within indigenous society. Mayan city-states suffered interminable hostilities from 200 ACE through 1510, far more than a millennium. Internal conflict had left the people suspecting their own princes could threaten them as much as their external (Toltec and Aztec) foes. The skepticism that the Twins display towards the Lords' "hospitality" reflects the general weariness of the Mayan peoples towards their own leaders. More than a thousand years of fratricide gave Maya no reason to believe that local authority was more benevolent than Aztec or Spanish invaders.

The physical space/metaphysical sphere of Xibalba, like the weakened Huallallo, continue to exist. It is there that the ears of corn that conjure up the Twins wither, die, and sprout again as seeds do, from within the recesses of the earth. In keeping with the agricultural cycle, the Twins remake the Underworld so it becomes a site of regeneration as well as decay. The Twins do not make Death disappear in Xibalba, and Huallallo does not disappear in *Huarochiri*. But they do widen the function of the Underworld so that it serves as a precondition for the cycle of life. The entry points to life and death, the portals of Xibalba, are the same. Caves conceal the darkness of the womb of life, and the nine lords of the Mayan night represent the gestation of life in that womb. Cradles and graves are interchangeable, and continuous.

As an illustration of this merging we have the “garden ordeal” endured by Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque in the mansions of Xibalba. It weaves Life into the Death cycle of Xibalba, enlivening Hell’s orderly flower-beds with mischief. In this episode the Twins are commanded to gather flowers from the Underworld without trespassing the Lords’ gardens. The impossibility of the task is overcome by the Twins’ ability to ally themselves with the animal elements of Creation. Ants turn out to be dependable, deceiving the birds who guard the Xibalban bouquets. “The two of them [birds] are the guardians of the garden, the garden of One and Seven Death, but they don’t notice the ants stealing what’s under their guard, swarming, carrying away loads of flowers, coming to cut down the flowers in the trees, while the guards just stretch their mouths wide open, not noticing the nibbling at their own tails, the nibbling at their own wings” (*PV* Tedlock 123).

By inserting the ants into the confines of the Underworld gardens, the Twins introduce anarchy into the controlled context of the flower-beds. The ants bewilder the birds, who fail in their functions as watchmen. “‘Very well’ they replied, but the guardians of the plants never knew a thing” (*PV* Tedlock 123). Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque’s prank is immortalized when the Xibalbans castigate the birds with the evidence of their failure: the comical expressions of amazement on their faces and tails, which characterize the whippoorwill, will forever recall their surprise at the Twins’ exploit. “And then their mouths were split wide, their payment for the theft of what was under their guard” (*PV* Tedlock 124).

20<sup>th</sup> century literary critic of Spanish Golden Age Drama, Jose Maravall underscored the pairing of gardens and forests, distinguishing forests by their wildness, and gardens by their manicured and controlled factions.<sup>206</sup> The comparison is valid here too, when Hunahpu and

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<sup>206</sup> This is particularly notable in Maravall’s analysis of Calderon de la Barca’s tragedies.

Ixbalaamque introduce an element of joyful savagery (the ants) into an intricately controlled civilization (the garden of Xibalba). By so doing, they expose the defect of Xibalba's organization: the garden is unnatural, and like all things unnatural, it will be undone by Nature (the ants). Sarcastic humor triumphs, and Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque humiliate their hosts while complying with the terms of their contract. The then prevailing social norms of Mayan and/or colonial society are represented, by the structure of the garden. The rigid flower-beds are subverted by untrammelled Nature, celebrated by the Twins and their collaborative ants.

The Twins deliver the prized bouquets by letting ants and Nature take their course, a process described in the *Popul Vuh* in balletic terms: "The severed flowers rain down into the gathering and bunching here below, so that the four bowls of flowers are easily filled, an acrobatic performance that lasts till dawn" (*PV* Tedlock 123). Thanks to their hijinks and to the work of the ants, the nightmare flowers are reconfigured in consonance with Nature. By making the Garden approach the Forest in its exuberance and unpredictability (nobody but the ants themselves know where they will go), the Twins bring Xibalba closer to life. Life signifies unpredictability and therefore, freedom of choice. The four bowls of flowers that mark contemporary Mayan altars in Guatemala and Yucatan may hint at this type of benevolent spiritual anarchy, apart from marking the four cardinal directions.

### *3.6 From freedom of choice to re-foundational myths*

Aztec gods demanded blood sacrifice to nourish the sun. The Incas' sun demanded it as well, though sporadically, at coronations. Prior to the Twins' arrival in Xibalba, neither the sun nor the moon had yet made their appearance, and Xibalba's darkness enshrouded Uleew, our Middle World. For Uleew to be illuminated, the Universe had to be refashioned, with better

laws replacing the older, crueller ones. The first law, in both the *PV* and the *HM*, is the darkness of human sacrifice. The first law was defective, and so was the world that it had called into being. Later beings chose a different path, and The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* are the stories of that second path.

The second path praises insubordination. The apotheosis of Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque as the true Sun and Moon mark the abrogation of the old universe's first (sacrificial) law. In a similar sense, Paria Caca and his sex-goddess sister, five-armed Chaupi Namca, are seen as the children of the Sun and the goddess of the Heights, Hanan Maccla (*HM* 13, 84), countering the obscurity of the first Sacrificers. The devotion to Paria Caca and his sister later survived the collapse of the Incas who, like the Aztecs, saw themselves as children of the sun. Sabine MacCormack asserted that during colonial persecutions of Amerindian religion: "...what endured were pre-Inca myths and cults, along with the conceptions of deity, of human society, and of cosmic order and disorder that these cults articulated" (*Religion in the Andes* 13). Unsurprisingly then, Chaupi Namca and Paria Caca outlasted colonial "extirpations" of idolatry more successfully than did Inti, the Sun of imperial Cuzco. In the same vein, the Hero Twins continue to play a central role in the spiritual life of Mayan peoples after Tenochtitlan and the Spanish empire were only a (bad) memory.

The Bible, the Koran, the Rig Vedas, Aztec and Inca cosmologies are all foundational myths, recording and perpetuating the first divine decrees of their authors. They espoused systems of law that reinforced those decrees, and upheld the political praxis of their authors. On the other side of the coin, the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* are **re-foundational** myths. In their narratives, first decrees are deliberately transgressed: an acknowledgment that their severity is unbearable. Rebellion is posed by the **re-foundational**



myth [my terminology]. Re-foundational myths offer a viable alternative pathway for Creation, because the initial decrees are senseless and harmful. That is what these epics do.

These Amerindian “re-founders” are altruistic. The heroes and heroines of the *PV* and the *HM* rise up on behalf of the world, not for personal aggrandizement. Personal conceit counts little, though it motivates the rebellious figures in the Bible (Korach, who defies Moses, Lucifer, who tempts Jesus, etc.) But the sarcastic tone with which our heroes taunt the Sacrificers is unthinkable in the god-man conversations of the Old World. In our epics, cynicism regarding the Divine is rampant, enabling the second generation of god-heroes to out-do the first.

This re-foundationing shines in Paria Caca’s use of a golden staff to paralyze the bi-cephalous dragon Amaru. Amaru’s presence in the continuum of Andean thought is immense. The two-headed dragon first appears on Paracas textiles from Peru’s Pacific coast, (600-150 BCE) and forever after throughout the highlands and lowlands of Peru and Ecuador. The Moche in Peru’s northern desert (100-750 ACE) added their double headed dragon to the Andean arsenal of images, his interlocking head and hind-quarters making a farce of beginnings and ends. (Cristobal Albornoz’s quote mentioning Amaru’s appearance simultaneously with the advent of the Conquistadors is well-known,<sup>207</sup> linking alpha and omega). The creature, whose double-headedness creates an eerie looping spiral, an Andean infinity, is paralyzed by the Conquistadors’ arrival. Cyclical infinity freezes with Pizarro, a metaphor for the truncation of Andean life by the Conquest.

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<sup>207</sup> Urbano and Duviols 175: In Albornoz’ description of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the terrible dragon was frozen into stone upon learning of the Conquistadors’ arrival. The people of Huarochiri, ever adept at adaptation, took advantage of Amaru’s new lithic state to chip off segments of the petrified dragon to use as medicine. Although dismissing such accounts as absurd, Albornoz says that a stone formation near Huarochiri resembled a dragon...although one might question how Albornoz would know what a dragon truly resembled.

Amaru's disconcerting bi-cephalism replicates the dual, conflictive nature of governance in the Incan aristocracy. Upper and Lower geographical regions, the *suyos*, were ruled by distinct factions who rarely united.<sup>208</sup> Amaru's double-headedness evokes the ebb and flow of Andean empires, Moche-Lambayeque-Wari-Inca; each one a "head" of military might, each head existing alongside its nemesis. This chimeric dragon has no tail to speak of, which augments its monstrousness and its enigma. Visually, Amaru embodies a revolving procession of crowns/empires, and the interchangeability of his heads renders upper and lower extremities indistinguishable.

Maybe geography is the source of the two-headed dragon paradigm: Huarochiri sits on the crossroads, the *chaupi*, the midpoint, of many empires. To the conquered populations of Yauyos and Yuncas, the warriors who seized control of their region, whether Wari or Inca, (or Spanish) were just as indistinguishable from each other as were Amaru's two heads. Amaru's corporality, his coterminous heads, connotes the passing of one empire and the installation of another, indistinct and equally oppressive for the local inhabitants of the Lurin Valley.

Following this line of reasoning, the dragon's presence before Paria Caca heralds a merry-go-round of political sovereignty. Amaru's bicephalism also hints at the dichotomy of two opposing conceptions of life incarnated in the rivalry between Huallallo and Paria Caca. The dragon's presence recalls the Bat Zotz of the *Popul Vuh*, icon of a political dynasty and harbinger of death. "The royal family of El Zotz both mimicked its rival, recall the close similarity of pyramids at the sites, and nurtured a new and distinct spiritual emphasis..." ("In the Shadow of a Giant" 9). Zotz the bat was the emblem of certain lineages that created

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<sup>208</sup> See: Dillehay and Netherly's *La frontera del estado inca*, in particular Patricia Netherly's article: "El reino de Chimor y el Tawantinsuyu" (85-105). Netherly explores the division of highland/lowland political administration throughout the Andes and its place as organizing principle of the Andean territorial and imperial blocks.

mayhem in the late Classic Maya world. The bat is very much a “political animal.” Zotz, who beheads Hunahpu, embodies the regime of Xibalba, and is an ominous sign of political chaos.

Amaru inhabits the Middle World, where he creates chaos like Zotz; and like Zotz he arises from the Lower one periodically. Amaru, like Zotz, is a political animal.<sup>209</sup> The paradigmatic opposition of Paria Caca’s staff and the dire Amaru encapsulates history: Andean regime change. One cosmovision’s twilight (Huallallo) and the dawn of another cosmovision (Paria Caca), describe the re-foundationing of society. The *HM* makes the Incas merely the heirs to their pre-existing Yunca-Yauyo tradition, diminishing Cuzco’s interference in the affairs of Huarochiri: “From there [the mountain Huama Yaco], a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tahuantin Suyu. Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsas* institution for his own worship. Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his *huacsas* and held him in great honor” (*HM* 17, 94).

Paria Caca’s golden staff is not his alone. In Andean literature and legend, it is a recognizable symbolic trope. According to legend, Manco Inca, founder of Cuzco’s royal dynasty, designated the site of his capital by hurling the staff of his sister/wife, Mama Oqlllo, into the earth. Aside from the sexuality inherent in the thrusting of the rod and the impregnation of the fertile feminine soil, the rod announces the hierarchy of Inca kings, who violently replaced the previous inhabitants (Wallas, Lares, and Pokes)<sup>210</sup> of Cuzco. They

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<sup>209</sup> Many South American Indian cultures maintain stories of dragon-like creatures hidden in the entrails of the earth. Chief among them are the Mapuches, who take the dualism inherent in Amaru one step further. They divide the dragons themselves into Good (Tren Tren) and Evil (Kai Kai Filu). Kai Kai Filu demands human sacrifice.

<sup>210</sup> Salustio Concha Tupayachi (*Epopéya de los dioses andinos* 139-42) records the expulsion of Cuzco’s original inhabitants from a non-Incan oral tradition that may be closer to the outlook of the Huarochiri’s inhabitants. The Inca couple’s golden rod, the “barreta de oro” in Tupayachi’s retelling, can be traced to colonial chroniclers, particularly to Juan Diez de Betanzos (1510-1576) who, born in Spain, lived, married, and died in Cuzco.

subjugated those who remained to the grid-like Inca system of political control, restricting movement between villages, as the Spanish empire would do centuries later.

Inca influence was a disliked but inescapable fact of life for the peoples of Huarochiri from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The episode of Paria Caca and his golden rod is an ironic commentary on the implementation of Incan Empire *per-se*. Paria Caca's worship predates Inca religion by hundreds of years, and *Huarochiri* is emphatic when it comes to describing the Incas as newcomers. "We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa*. It's said that he, the Inca himself, decreed, let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles" (*HM* 18, 96). Paria Caca's conflict with Amaru in the *HM* may have been influenced by a century of Inca dominance over Huarochiri, with Amaru's defeat symbolizing a deeply held wish for an Inca collapse.<sup>211</sup>

In Inca and Spanish accounts, the Incas' staff/Conquistador's cross penetrates the earth. In *Huarochiri's* version, Paria Caca's staff penetrates the Beast (Amaru), slithering on the earth surface. The Beast, the Monstrous (Empire), shatters Nature's harmony; but the earth is restored to its equilibrium when Paria Caca symbolically "penetrates" the monster, Empire (Inca/Spanish), which is distorting nature. "Then Huallallo Caruinchu turned loose a huge snake called the Amaru, a two headed snake, thinking, 'This'll bring misfortune on Paria Caca.' When he saw it, Paria Caca furiously stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff. At that moment, the snake froze stiff..." (*HM* 16, 93). The snake "frozen stiff" of the

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<sup>211</sup> Since sporadic evidence of Incan child-sacrifice shows that this practice was imposed on conquered peoples as far away as Northwest Argentina (re: Johannes Reinhardt's find of the Llullaillaco mummies), wishing for an end to Inca dominance, as they later wished for an end to Spanish rule, would have been widespread in Huarochiri.

*Huarochiri Manuscript* jibes with Cristobal Albornoz' description of the petrified dragon (see quote 112).

The golden staff with which Paria Caca stabbed the Beast has a local meaning that survived empires and continues into the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the use of staffs to record ledgers of village agricultural and political responsibilities, tying in with a pan-Andean tradition of the “staff-god” from over three thousand years ago.<sup>212</sup> Frank Salomon observes that the staff emblem is “among the most far-flung and long-lasting in pre-Hispanic iconography” (*The Cord Keepers* 76). At the time of this writing, (2014) the Huarochirian staff is in use in throughout that area's communities, while golden rods have ceased to be an insignia of Incan or Spanish power.

### 3.7 Transgression as a Survival Tactic

The earth, the world-space, the *pacha*, continues impervious to whatever political/imperial change occurs. However, human beings are affected by Empire, by that political Beast with its two or more heads. When the Conquistadors arrived, burning the servants of Paria Caca (*HM* 18, 97), those who survived the auto-da-fes decided to return to their old, pre-Incan villages. At that point, the Incan gods were indisputably dead and offered them no respite from Spanish armies: “Brothers, let's go away, let's disband. The world (*pacha*) is no longer good, they said. And so they dispersed, each going back to his own village” (*HM* 18, 97).<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> The staff god appears in Chavin, and adorns the walls and lintels of Tiahuanaco; it is an Andean emblem.

<sup>213</sup> Contemporary archaeological research (re: Fernando Estete, in Machu Pichu 2000-14) suggests that the citadel was abandoned by non-Inca servants who also “went back to their own villages,” probably the nearby Pata Llachta settlement, when news of Atahualpa's beheading reached them. The abundance of scattered implements, and food, on the site of the Inca's summer palace, testifies to the sudden nature of Machu Pichu's demise.

Despite whatever empires are in vogue, local systems of spatial organization persevere and remake the world in the *PV* and the *HM*. If we transgress Empire, we transgress Empire's space, which Paria Caca and the Twins delight in doing. In the *Popul Vuh*, the Twins are transgressors par excellence: they discover portals of entry into other worlds. In Central American (and Andean) conceptions of space, such portals are demarcated by geological formations, such as caverns or water sinkholes, the *cenotes*. They are telluric centers, such as Marca Huasi in Peru, guiding the initiate to an elevated spirit sphere. In these topographic hot spots, the Middle World, the Celestial World, and the Underworld, collide in unison.<sup>214</sup>

Portals may replicate natural phenomena, such as the Danta pyramids in Guatemala or Pisac's stone alignments in Peru: surrounded by mountain portals, the structures become themselves portals. They are places where one can come and go between worlds, and extreme caution is needed for both actions. Aztec (and monotheistic) fatalism saw no points of return from Life/Death portals. Entries to the feared Mictlan, where disembodied souls languish and disintegrate, were as immutable as the days of final judgment of monotheist faiths. Inca cosmology, also a point of no return, saw their dead controlling the non-Inca, (both living and dead) reinforcing the political hierarchies of the ancestors, hence the care expended on the royal mummies. Any Inca who criticized the mummy-cult such as Huascar, was quickly dethroned.

In Maya cosmology, one could come and go between worlds. As in *Huarochiri*, where the dead reappear and are scolded by the living, the dead and the living of Mayab and the Andes interacted constantly and comically. The woman in *Huarochiri* who chastises her dead husband for returning to see her a day late on the 6<sup>th</sup> day after his death, instead of coming on

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<sup>214</sup> Patricia Granziera, Alfredo Lopez Austin, and Leopoldo Lujan, among others, underline the wide-spread presence of these portals in all aspects of Mesoamerican geography and cosmology.

the all-hallowed 5<sup>th</sup> day, hardly represents a solemn attitude towards mortality, as we saw earlier: “When he arrived, his wife was enraged, and she gave him a terrible bawling out, ‘Why are you so damn lazy...’ ” (*HM* 27, 129).

Maya cosmology too believes that one could return from the Netherworld, scarred, scathed, but intact, emulating Ixqiq’s example. Knowing they will live and die several times, the Twins e plant their individual cornstalks in the house of their mother and grandmother, as corn is the totemic transmitter of a person’s (changeable) destiny in Xibalba. For the Maya, Hell is dreadful, but it is not forever. “Hunahpu planted one and Ixbalaamque planted another. They were planted right there in the house: neither in the mountains nor where the earth is damp, but where the earth is dry, in the middle of the inside of their house. They left them planted there, then went off, each with his own blowgun” (*PV* Tedlock 116). Change begins at home; one must start with one’s own surroundings before conquering the world. Grandmother Ixmucane’s house is a sort of birth/gestation cave for the Twins, whereas Xibalba is the cave in which they come into maturity.

Canyons and caves are liminal spaces of descent between Middle and Lower Worlds in Mayan thought. Brent Woodfill notes that “caves were a central and universal part of Maya cosmovision, not a peripheral phenomenon” (“The Central Role of Cave Archaeology in the Reconstruction of Classic Maya Culture”...214). Woodfill’s research has shown that caves in the Maya regions were inhabited and used for residence and ritual in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, before the larger settlements of the Late Classic Period (600-900 ACE). The Mayan use of

caves as early living/worshipping spaces pre-dating village structures coincides with Andean thought, in which the cave is the “pacarina,” the place where the clan lineage “dawns.”<sup>215</sup>

Death in the Lower World-Cave of Xibalba must be experienced in order for the subject to be reborn in flesh and soul. For the Twins to remake and re-foundation the World, they must *choose* to seek out and enter the canyons of Xibalba, where boundaries between worlds blur and fade. Once murdered by the Lords, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque can be reborn. Firm in their faith, they do not hesitate in their descent into the deepest cave of all. They accept the unknown, and expect their loved ones to do likewise. “ ‘We’re on our way, dear grandmother. We’re just giving you instructions. So here is the sign of our word. We’ll leave it with you’ ” (*PV* Tedlock 116).

Self-knowledge and knowledge of the other is represented by the mirror-configuration of Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, who complement each other, but are not identical. Their fathers, Hunahpu One and Hunahpu Seven, had acted in perfect harmony, but that harmony was the key to their downfall. They were tricked into the Underworld together, and together despaired. The second Twins behave in different ways. Hunahpu is too impulsive; Ixbalaamque is more resourceful, and repairs his other half’s damage. Factionousness and dissent, as in Mayan politics, were sometimes an advantage. After the Twins choreograph their own rebirth, they re-foundation life on earth, replacing human sacrifice with votive offerings.<sup>216</sup>

Ixbalaamque’s ability to maneuver separately, which he does when Hunahpu is beheaded, brings victory. Ixbalaamque’s resourcefulness, more than Hunahpu’s theatrics,

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<sup>215</sup> Incan imperial narrative made effective use of the “pacarina” theme, venerating a sacred cave, the *Pacaritambo*, as the point of origin for the brothers of their founding dynasty, the Ayar warriors and their sisters/wives. (As in ancient Egypt, incest was reserved only for the supreme leaders in society).

<sup>216</sup> Mayan archaeology at Palenque has revealed the use of human sacrifice on rare occasions, such as the burial of the Red Queen (mid-7<sup>th</sup> century ACE). If Xibalba is taken to be Death itself, the Twins’ impertinent resurrection there flies in the face of the human sacrifice used to honor dead Mayan rulers during the Classic Period. It marks the thought processes of the *PV* as definitively post-Classic, (post 900 ACE) albeit with references to earlier times.



allows them to endure entrapment, burial and sacrifice. Everything is cyclical, and Hunahpu's disfigurements (loss of arm, loss of head), and the Twins' death by immolation will be temporary at worst. The Twins' sojourn in the Jaguar House of Xibalba parodies the entombment which the Lords have planned for them, replacing living subjects with animal bones.

So next they entered Jaguar House, the packed home of the jaguars: 'Don't eat *us*. There *is* something that should be yours,' the jaguars were told. With that, they scattered bones before the animals. After that, the jaguars were wrestling around there, over the bones. 'So they've made good work of them, they've eaten their very hearts. Now that the boys have given themselves up, they've already been transformed into skeletons,' said the sentries, all of them finding it sweet. But they hadn't died, they were well. They came out of Jaguar House. 'What sort of people are they? Where did they come from?' said all the Xibalbans (*PV* Tedlock 124-5).

In Mayan cosmogony, as we stated previously, the jaguar reflects the occult phases of the sun on its night journey through the heavens. On the vases of Calakmul, the Baby Jaguar, *Unen Balaam*, is hurled towards the earth center by a skeletal death-image, (Garcia Barrios. "Análisis Iconográfico Preliminar..." 74), but his demise is short-lived; the predator reappears each day as the Sun in the morning sky. The Twins' adventure in the Jaguar House reflects that curious "no-time" between darkness and light, a border-time before the sun or moon's rising and setting.

Apart from darkness, jaguars may have stirred other memories in the minds of the *Popul Vuh*'s scribes. The animal was emblematic of the Toltec/Aztec armies that encroached upon Mayan territory regularly from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Soustelle bolsters this when he observes how the Temple of the Jaguars in Chichen Itza "clearly portrays sacrifice according to the characteristic method of the peoples of central Mexico" (Soustelle, 133) [My translation] including disembowelment. That being said, the jaguar was also the emblem of the Classic period Maya kings, who had sacrificed subjects at burials in Palenque and Calakmul long

before Nahua warriors darkened the Maya horizon. Whether it was Toltec, Aztec or Maya, the jaguar augured predatory tactics in humans and animals alike.<sup>217</sup> This segment may be more political than metaphysical (as was Daniel's ordeal in the lion's den), in another but not so dissimilar context.

In challenging the feline, in Mayan terms, one challenged the very idea of kingship. Throughout the Americas, from Calakmul in Yucatan to the Moche kings of Peru, the jaguar reigned supreme, one of the "beliefs and paradigms shared by cosmogonies" (Brotherston and De Sa. "First Peoples of the Americas" 12). By jettisoning authority per-se, the *Popul Vuh*, whose myths date to the pre-Classic Maya, could reach its mature form in the post-Classic world, when *all* authority had begun to be suspect, whether Maya, Aztec, Inca or Spanish.

In Teotihuacan, the urban center of the Mexican valley (100-700 ACE) that maintained contact with Maya dynasties as far south as Copan and may have even supplied some of its local princes,<sup>218</sup> it was customary to bury prisoners alive in underground caves with live jaguars as their final accompaniment. This punishment, characteristic of the Toltec and later Aztecs, was known to the Maya, locked in asymmetric trade and combat with Nahua warriors for over five hundred years. Passing the night with jaguars in the *PV* has a decidedly Nahua ring to it, reminding the reader/listener of civilizations (the Toltec, the Aztec, the Toltec-influenced Maya of Chichen Itza) whom Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque metaphorically overthrow.

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<sup>217</sup> One of the earliest symbols of theocratic/governmental authority in Peru was the jaguar, seen in the prominence of the feline sculptures at Chavin de Huantar, Peru, dating back to 900 BCE. Possible contact between Peru and Mesoamerica should not be ruled out. Sabine MacCormack notes, (*Religion* 50) that Pizarro's men encountered Peruvian sea-going vessels specifically on their way "to Mexico" to trade with that land for the spondylus shell, an item coveted by far-flung Native American elite classes. Pre-Columbian trade routes are a current object of investigation in Dumbarton Oaks; and in Francisco Marroquin University in Guatemala.

<sup>218</sup> See: 2009 Teotihuacan Exhibit, Museum of Anthropology of the City of Mexico, Summer 2009.

Playing to their animal instincts, the Twins vanquish their jaguar adversaries. They coax and seduce, manipulating feline appetites. This is not Samson battling the lion....it is Daniel soothing the man-eaters. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque entered the Jaguar House bearing bones to placate the big cats, just as a good shaman will carry his “bundle” to any healing ceremony. Then they emerged, alive, from the Jaguar House, replicating the route of the jaguar symbolism, from night-sun to day-sun. Their Xibalban hosts, they of the “place of fear,” were exasperated, as they were when the Twins emerged hale and hearty from an earlier trial of unendurable cold: “ ‘Why haven’t they died?’ said the rulers of Xibalba. Again they were amazed at the feats of the boys, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque” (*PV* Tedlock 124).

Unlike the human victims of Teotihuacan, the two would-be cadavers tamed the hungry cats by feeding them the remains (the bones) of other animals already dead. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque restrain Nature through familiarity: understanding a jaguar’s eating habits. Thanks to the Twins’ intelligence, natural as well as political orders are “re-founded.” Hunahpu’s name, the “hunter” and Ixbalaamque’s name, the jaguar “balaam,” assume a new, twinned dimension. Hunahpu, the blowgun-hunter (Thompson. “Un comentario al codice de Dresde” 40) and Ixbalaamque, the hunted (the jaguar) work with the animals of the *PV*. Ixbalaamque, in his “jaguar” definition, fends off the real jaguars, repelling like with like, and acting as a deflecting mirror. In shamanic thought, from Mayab to the Andes, this is a use of the “power animal,” the fauna with which an individual is identified from birth to death to rebirth. The Twins have interrupted their own planned funeral cortege, and no one is buried, alive or dead.

In the *Popul Vuh*, the natural world is lulled into submission through comprehension of its needs (as the Twins do with the jaguars), not tamed or controlled in the Western sense. In

comparison, Paria Caca's quests to re-found the social order, to save humans from being potential candidates for human sacrifice, thrust him into bloody opposition with monstrous parodies of Nature (such as Amaru). Amaru obeys no known rules or patterns, and Paria Caca must fight more than coax. If his "power animal" is the falcon (being as he was hatched from five falcons), he must forever torment the serpent. Birds and serpents are hereditary enemies.

The axiological war between Paria Caca and Huallallo is populated by chimera such as Amaru, by monstrous birds (similar to the *Popul Vuh's* Seven Macaw), and later by an indescribable horror, the "Hugi." These deviations from the natural world replicate gradations of human fear, increasing in scale from the known to the unknown. Amaru and the Hugi et al. are "things of fear," much as Xibalba is a "place of fear." The Hugi, the unknown, with which Paria Caca jousts, defies verbal description. Unlike Amaru or the giant birds, who are frightful but clearly delineated, the Hugi remains without form, a monstrous question mark. Unfortunately, the Hugi is as eternal as the gods, reminding the reader/listener that battles are ongoing. There is no happy or sad end: "At that time, Huallallo Carhuinchi, never forgetful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *Hugi* to appear on the same mountain where he lived....Paria Caca commanded the people of Tahuantin Suyu to capture that animal called *Hugi*. Paria Caca flashed and stormed, yet it never died...." (HM 16, 94-5).

Amaru is merely the first of the three monsters of Nature encountered by Paria Caca.<sup>219</sup> Later, the god comes head to head with a freakish, giant Bird, who may or may not be an incarnation of Paria Caca's archenemy. "But this Huallallo Carhuinchi isn't supposed to have

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<sup>219</sup> Jesus Lara, Jose Maria Arguedas, and more recently Bierhorst, have provided ample background on the monsters of the Andean imagination. Lara in particular focused on the genre of terror, combining Quechua and Christian elements in Gothic-Andean storytelling. The Moche art of northern Peru (100-700 ACE) famously depicts monsters and supernatural beasts in sculpted, painted, and architectural form, as Walter and Bruno Alva have documented in excavations in Peru's Chiclayo region. Many of the beasts have wings and vampire-like fangs.

escaped all at once. When Churapa, one of the Paria Cacas, penetrated the place we call Mullo Cocha and turned it into a lake, Huallallo flew away like a bird” (*HM* 16, 92). Since Paria Caca was hatched from five falcon eggs, he would be equipped to deal with a bird-like opponent: “These five falcons turned into humans and began to roam around” (*HM* 5, 59). Birds figure throughout the art of the Pacific Americas, ranging from the Inuit tribes of Alaska, where the Bird Man kidnaps women to make them his brides, down to southern Patagonia, where condors reputedly do the same. Cieza de Leon, transcribing Inca imperial histories in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, attributed “great painted wings” to one of the Ayar brothers, Ayar Cachi, of Cuzco’s founding dynasty (Ballesteros. *Cieza de Leon; El imperio de los incas* 44). Farther from the South American mainland but culturally linked to it, the Rapa Nui peoples of Easter Island bestowed the “Bird Man” as an honorific title to the strongest and most agile man of the clan, as demonstrated in a yearly tournament. And prior to the Incan period, the Lambayeque culture of Northern Peru (700-1375 ACE) had honored a hybrid avian-human, Naylamp, as its forefather.

The Bird Man motif was entrenched in the Andean imagination before the compilation of *Huarochoiri*, and it assumes a palpable reality in Paria Caca’s clashes with the Bird-Monster, as though an ancient Pacific engraving were frozen in time. The twin components of this impossible body, Bird and Man, human and animal, splinter apart and collide on the mountainside. “Then, clambering up a mountain called Puma Rauca, Huallallo thought, ‘From here I’ll fence Paria Caca in so he can’t get through.’ He set against him a certain kind of parrot called *Caqui* or toucan and made it brandish its wing-points” (*HM* 16, 93). The idea of a mutant toucan jolts the narrative out of Nature while it communicates a certain humor: the toucan in its natural form is beloved for its beauty, no threat to human beings or to gods. Here, however, the toucan is perverse, as is the macaw in the *Popul Vuh*.

Huallallo sent the chimerical bird-monster to unnerve Paria Caca, but the latter has developed a cynical reserve. The Andean god's attitude here resembles the jaded impertinence of the Hero Twins. Instead of launching a full-scale, earth shaking assault on the mutant *Caqui*, Paria Caca "effortlessly" picks off the spikes on the Bird Fiend's wings. "But Paria Caca *effortlessly* broke one of its wings, turned the toucan into stone and climbed right over it..." (*HM* 16, 93). [Italics mine]. In the god-bird tussle, the prose of *Huarochiri* takes on a droll, deadpan turn. We, the readers, are emotionally primed for an apocalypse when the evil toucan enters. Instead, we receive anti-climactic humor. In this scene, the savior disempowers the monster out of sheer annoyance. This is not St. George dramatically slaying the dragon. This Bird creature is simply too ridiculous for Paria Caca to expend any energy on him.<sup>220</sup> Picking off the bird's feathers "effortlessly" proves this. The problem is resolved with no fanfare at all: "Once Paria Caca stepped over it [the Caqui-toucan] Huallallo Carhuinchu had no power left, so he fled toward the Anti-lowlands" (*HM* 16, 93).

The *HM* marks the emotional evolution of the character of Paria Caca in this segment (207) of the epic. As opposed to his previously cited engagement (*HM* 16, 93, segment 205) with Amaru, in which Paria Caca became "furious" in his onslaught ("When he saw it, [Amaru], Paria Caca *furiously* stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff"), this clash is best described as a skirmish. The Caqui-Toucan is no less monstrous than Amaru, but Paria Caca's reaction is more muted. He reacts with the aplomb of the Hero Twins in Xibalba. Shamanic teachings in the Andes demand extreme self-control, even in circumstances of

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<sup>220</sup> Gordon Brotherston often classifies these creatures as pre-historic, pterodactyl-like fauna, whose fossil record would have been known to the Native Americans. While not discounting that possibility, I prefer to emphasize the moral underpinnings of these monsters more than their possible dinosaur references.

simulated self-burial.<sup>221</sup> A god's behavior, as much as a human's, conforms to the shamanic model: one must dominate one's own anger. Paria Caca defeats his avian nightmare without a second thought, plucking off its supernatural sword points as though they were flower petals. Mature, cold revenge replaces the adolescent rage earlier evoked by Amaru.

Monstrous birds enliven the pages of the *Popul Vuh* as well. Their representative is pompous Seven Macaw (*Vucub Caquix*), the braggart macaw who impersonates the as yet unborn Sun. He is a symbol of vanity, of false light, and thus of false enlightenment. "It is not true that he is the sun, this Seven Macaw, yet he magnifies himself, his wings, and his metal. But the scope of his face lies right around his own perch; his face does not reach everywhere beneath the sky. The faces of the sun, moon, and stars are not yet visible, it has not yet dawned" (*PV* Tedlock 74). This bird-monster fathers two monsters of his own: Cipacna and Cabrakan, responsible for floods and earthquake. Natural calamities, common in Mayab, are accorded etiological explanations by the plot line, while the sarcastic heroes and heroines of the *PV* overcome all such "natural" obstacles, including these two climatic phenomena.

Vucub Caquix's sons are vain and brutal, delighting in making the earth shudder even if that means undoing each other's handiwork. " 'Here am I: I am the maker of the earth,' said Cipacna. 'As for me, I bring down the sky, I make an avalanche of all the earth,' said Earthquake [Cabrakan]. The sons of Seven Macaw are alike, and like him: they got their greatness from their father" (*PV* Tedlock 77-8). Fortunately for the planet, Seven Macaw's clan is interred within the earth by Hunahpu and Ixbalamque.

Hunahpu the hunter, the reckless Twin, has hubris vis-a vis the earth monsters that "overleaps itself," to paraphrase Shakespeare. Having put away the sons, Hunahpu takes aim at

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<sup>221</sup> In the Argentine Andes and on the outskirts of Cuzco, part of a shaman's personal training includes undergoing simulated burial with only a tube permitting the subject to breathe. (Personal conversation, Cuzco, 2010)

the boastful and more ominous Bird-father. But the impulsiveness that leads Hunahpu to lose his head in Xibalba begins with his bird nemesis in the still-dark Middle World. Hunahpu lunges, and Vucub Caquix wrenches off Hunahpu's arm, while Ixbalaamque remains whole, mentally and physically. Hunahpu, like Paria Caca when confronting Amaru, is too easily angered, too volatile. Though his limb is returned and reattached once Seven Macaw dies, (*PV* Tedlock 80) it is clear that Hunahpu's character needs strengthening. He lacks self-control, a quality supplied by his other half, his shadow self, Ixbalaamque. Unlike Hunahpu, who seizes any opportunity sans counsel, Ixbalaamque initiates a dialogue with the natural world and is thus better equipped to dominate the monstrous within Nature. Both the Twins and Paria Caca struggle with the deviant aspects of Nature, and both narratives take for granted that deviance and monstrosity are everywhere.

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* convey a matter of fact acceptance of destruction within nature. In the *HM* 22, 113, we read: "Regarding Pacha Cuyuchic, the World Shaker, this is what the people said: When he gets angry, earth trembles. When he turns his face sideways it quakes. Lest that happens he holds his face still. The world would end if he ever rolled over." Andean thought is poised on the edge of a precipice, and our vulnerability to Pacha Cuyuchic's moods is undeniable. Nonetheless, the Andean does not lament this state of affairs. He rejoices that the World Shaker is currently holding his face still, and attempts to convince the World Shaker to remain stationary. And in the *Popul Vuh*, we experience the same anti-climactic appreciation of Nature's volatility: "So then he [Earthquake-Cabrakan] was bound by the two boys; his hands were bound behind him. When his hands had been secured by the boys, his ankles were bound to his wrists. After that they threw him down, they buried him in the earth. Such is the defeat of Earthquake. It's Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque yet again" (*PV* Tedlock 87-8).



Relentless exposure to floods, hurricanes and avalanches had forced a realistic attitude upon Mayan and Andean authors, in whose pages romanticizing of the natural world is non-existent. Nature is not benevolent or malevolent; it is simply there.

Because neither Nature nor the gods can be trusted, one takes matters into one's own hands. As we have seen, following Hunahpu's beheading by the bat Zotz, Ixbalaamque consults<sup>222</sup> with his animal advisors, and thanks to them he devises a strategy against Xibalba. (It is easier for Ixbalaamque to act as protagonist while Hunahpu is temporarily headless, and more importantly, mouthless). “ ‘Hunahpu? Can you see how long it is till dawn?’ ‘Well, perhaps I should look to see how long it is,’ he replied. So he [Hunahpu] kept trying to look out the muzzle of the blowgun, he tried to see the dawn. And then his head was taken off by a snatch bat [Zotz], leaving Hunahpu's body still stuffed inside” (PV Tedlock 125-6).

In the wake of Hunahpu's decapitation, the opossum comes to the fore. In Mayan areas the opossum it is known as *vuch*, the benevolent grandfather/elder man whose appearance precedes the dawn. Among the Pacific cultures of Mexico's coasts, the opossum, known as “tlacuache,” is best known as the rebellious *Yaushu*. The Cora Indians of Mexico's Sierra Madre have preserved a parable about little *Yaushu*,<sup>223</sup> in which the opossum defies the sun-god and robs his fire<sup>224</sup> to bring back to his freezing tribe. Throughout Mexican valley tradition as well (with the glaring exception of the Aztecs) *Yaushu* the opossum was a beloved, rebellious personage. His alliance with Mayan upstarts is thus both natural and paradigmatic.

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<sup>222</sup> The meaning of *Popul Vuh* is literally “Book of the Mat,” *pop* meaning “mat” in most of the Mayan languages. Rulers dispensed advice and took counsel while sitting on mats, as seen in the carvings at Palenque, Tikal and Calakmul. Ixbalaamque, in his brainstorming session with the animals, embodies the basic gist of the *pop*.

<sup>223</sup> Mario Ivan Martinez retells the Cora legend on the CONACULTA educational CD, *Un rato para imaginar: leyendas del Mexico antiguo* (vol. 5, 2003).

<sup>224</sup> There is an affinity between *Yaushu*'s actions and the hubris of the Cakchiquel Maya. The latter steal fire from the sacrificial god Tohil, enjoy its benefits, and are never punished for it.

Ixbalaamque assigns a key detail of his plan to the opossum. At the outset of the Rubber Ball Tournament to be played on the morrow with the Xibalban team, they must somehow simulate the dawn in dark Xibalba. The marsupial aids Ixbalaamque by creating a false sunrise, etching streaks of light against the sunless sky. The influence of the Yaushu fire-thief stories is very palpable at this juncture, in the causal connection between the opossum and the dawn light. Allen J. Christenson's translation of the *Popul Vuh* captures the alternating color scheme of the opossum's sky: "And he blackened the sky with soot until it was dark again. Four times the Grandfather [opossum] blackened it with soot. Thus today people say, 'The possum blackens it with soot.' Finally the sky succeeded in turning red, and then blue when it began its existence" (*PV* Christenson 163). Red is identified with the east, the rising sun, and blue is one of the colors of the center of the four cardinal directions, the genesis of the sky, sky-earth, *Uleew*.

All of this occurs in an immeasurable continuum, akin to the non-passing of time in Celtic fairytales such as *Ossian*, with no real calendar, day, or night. The Sun and the Moon as such do not exist yet. The opossum must "fake" the sunlight, although he employs a different kind of fakery than that of Seven Macaw/Vucub Caquix, because the opossum's trickery is used to good purpose. The sky must be blackened before it can be illuminated, and the opossum *vuch/tlacuache* plays skillfully with the "doubling" of fire and sunlight. The animal who had filched flames from the Sun God in order to warm humanity in the Cora legends, likewise illuminates Xibalba's firmament in the Mayan epic. *Vuch's* gesture evokes the altruism of the Yaushu legends, (or foreshadows it). Thanks to the opossum's fake light, Ixbalaamque is able to observe the skullduggery of the Xibalbans, and reconstruct the head of his reckless Twin. "And when it dawned, both of them were well" (*PV* Christenson 164).

The opossum and the gaudy Macaw incarnate real light and simulated light. False light dazzles, as does the Macaw; real light imparts warmth, as does the opossum's gift. The vain macaw appropriated the concept of Light as a mimic sun for his own aggrandizement, whereas the opossum radiated Light to pinpoint and dispel falsehood. Nature, source of real and fake illumination, is similarly dualistic in Mayan thought. It is neither evil nor good, since its character is in an ongoing dialogue with whatever subject that converses with it.

Like Nature, gods, humans and animals can be good or bad, depending upon the contingency. Planets and stars are the same: Venus, *Lamat/Nohock Ek*<sup>225</sup> assumes differing aspects as morning and evening star, appearing and disappearing at intervals. Its beneficent or malevolent nature depended upon the dialogue that ensued between humans, flora and fauna. If peaceful, Venus was seen in its pacific aspect; if bellicose, the same planet was harbinger of conflict.<sup>226</sup> Dialogue is a principle of Amerindian texts and of their coexistence with nature. Time and again, Ixq'iq, the Twins and Paria Caca return to this principle of counsel, interchange and dialogue. Native American culture stresses the role of the storyteller: storytelling, questions, and counsel are all facets of this universal conversation. Creation is understood as a series of ongoing narratives which we tell ourselves, and different situations determine whether good or evil aspects of a person's, animal's, or god's character rise to the fore.

Counsel is the *pop* of the *Popul Vuh*. It is the mat on which Mayan subjects are seen sitting and debating, in over 800 years of Classic Mayan art. Dialogue redoes the world. It refoundations myths and refoundations the political embodiment of myth: human society.

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<sup>225</sup> Soustelle 202.

<sup>226</sup> This was specifically so during the Classic Period (100-900 ACE) in Guatemala and the Yucatan peninsula, where Venus' phases were used as political alibis for beginning territorial wars between city-states.

Dialogue in the *Popul Vuh* imagines the possibility of correcting what went wrong the first time. Dialogue re-designs society in accordance with a new vision of the world, without auto-da-fes or obsidian sacrificial knives. Only with good advice will we transform our area of space-time, what the Andeans called, and call, our *pacha*. In this truly “New World,” humanity does not live in terror of any Deity/ies.

### *3.8 Taking Counsel, Giving Advice, and the Transcendence of Speech*

Ixbalaamque, who takes the field in Xibalba when his chief player has the most dubious of head injuries, and Paria Caca, whose team of his own five fraternal manifestations answers to the call against Huallallo Caruinchu, both need some help in winning their respective contests. Their tournaments have repercussions for life in all three planes of existence: celestial, middle, and underworld, so the help which they summon is of the highest caliber. Ixbalaamque and Paria Caca turn, as did Ixqiq before them, to animals and humans for advice. In the monotheistic Chain of Creation, humans and animals would constitute a lesser strain of existence, but not so here. Gods, animals and humans interconnect. All share weak moments, and all are thoroughly interdependent.

Shamanic tradition in the Andes and Central America connects all beings whether living or dead, without differentiation of rank. In contrast, as Cuzco’s Museum of Inca Art makes clear, Incas recoiled from the shamanic identification of man and animal. Unlike the cultures of Huarochiri, the Incas saw themselves as Sons of the Sun, a “fact” which made them innately superior to all other life forms, in their opinion. But in shamanic tradition, the outward appearance of any being, living or dead, is just energy coalescing around different physical

points of assemblage. Those points could be as improbable as the masquerade of Chapter 5 of *Huarochiri* (58), where a dead guanaco conceals the living son of the god Paria Caca. In the *Popul Vuh*, these points of energy could even coalesce around a squash. “Now after many had come, the coati arrived last of all bringing a chilacayote squash. She came rolling it along with her nose. This was to be transformed into the head of Hunahpu” (*PV* Christenson 162). Hunahpu’s head, the squash, and the coati are seen as diverse arrangements of the same universal life-force which infuses the universe. The Quechuan idea of life breath emanating from the Earth Mother (Vera Torres. *Hijas de Kavillaca* 44) and the Mayan word *bah*, representing the indestructible flower soul, (Taube “Flower Mountain: Concepts of Life, Beauty and Paradise Among the Classic Maya” 69) express that shared energy.<sup>227</sup>

Mercedes De La Garza interprets multiplicity as a veil concealing unity at the base of Mayan thought: “...in the *Popul Vuh* it is stated that Gukumatz, the quetzal serpent, was the common name of all the Creation gods, by which the different names of those gods appear to refer to different aspects of the same deity. Mainly, Gukumatz symbolizes water, and is identified with the vital energy with which the world was formed” [My translation].<sup>228</sup> All elements in the Mayan universe are constantly re-founding, redesigning and re-modifying each other, an unfinished piece of artwork, like flowing water. Completion would signify death with no rebirth, and that would be unthinkable in the Mayan world-view.

Creation is ongoing, but it is never perfect. There will always be flaws, so there will always be stories. Life in the *PV* and the *HM* implies confronting the cycles in which opposites

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<sup>227</sup> Contemporary Huarochiranos still view Inca mummies as having the ability to hurt them by breathing on the Huarochiranos, even though dead; the Mayan life-essence is connected with visual depictions of the soul in Mayan art which, unlike Aztec art with which it shares the “flower” motif, never perishes or disintegrates.

<sup>228</sup> (See: De La Garza. “Las fuerzas sagradas del universo maya” 108).

merge. Frank Salomon stressed this when he wrote that “Andean societies often rely on dualities as the first step in structuring human activity, such as village halves (moieties/*sayas*), matched as rivals in work and ritual” (*The Cord Keepers*, 15).

Life in these texts juggle dualities, chronological and philosophical, at all levels. That is how Paria Caca could be born (or made manifest) in the Middle World *after* his son Huatyacuri has been incorporated into the human world, and only *after* harmony has been established in Huatyacuri’s chosen family.<sup>229</sup> For Andean and Central American cosmovisions, everything is animate and everything is reversible. As James Fitzsimmons notes regarding the Maya, there never was, nor will there be, any apocalypse or “end of days.”<sup>230</sup> In Western terms, shamanic vision can most accurately be compared to spiritual quantum physics. Shamanic perception captures a reality that, like invisible molecules, morphs, dies and renews itself ad infinitum.

The principle of ceaseless back and forth movement is illustrated by the texts’ “counsel sessions” between men, women, gods, animals, plants and stars. In the Bible and the Koran, God never asks man for an opinion, although He can, clemency permitting, accede to a request. (In Genesis XVIII, 31-33: God promises Abraham that Sodom and Gomorrah will be spared if only ten righteous persons can be found therein). Monotheistic deities depend on no one to arrive at their inscrutable decisions. In the *PV* and the *HM* gods and men are entangled in a conflict with Evil, and both depend upon other life forms for aid. Gods, as much as humans, often do not have the slightest notion what to do. Creator gods are inept in Mayan tradition,

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<sup>229</sup> *Yanantin*, 120-1. Citing Bastien’s study of the Bolivian community of Mount Kaata, the author clarifies how Paria Caca’s birth, and symbolic rebirth following his son Huatyacuri’s feats, represents a symbolic unity of lands and peoples that transcends local boundaries, because the deity can be reclaimed by successive generations anywhere.

<sup>230</sup> James Fitzsimmons speaks of the soul as a source of endlessly regenerative power; a fact which corroborates archaeological observations by Bill Saturno (La Corona, Guatemala) and David Stuart (Tortuguero, Tabasco, Mexico) demonstrating how the Mayan calendar count continues beyond media-based sensationalism of “2012”.

and often downright perverse in the Andes.<sup>231</sup> Of course, neither the Twins nor Paria Caca falls into these categories. Their purpose is correcting and re-forming what was already called into flawed being.

The Creators in *Huarochiri* despaired so much of their creation that they sent monumental floods (a universal motif), a reminder that bad first attempts must be blotted out. Before Paria Caca makes his appearance in the epic, the Andean universe is already imploding, in an act of conscious self-immolation: “In ancient times, this world wanted to come to an end... The waters covered all those mountains and it was only Villca Coto mountain, or rather its very peak, that was not covered by the water” (*HM* 3, 50). The Creator gods in the *Popul Vuh* twice slaughter the first humans, the men of clay and wood. “Therefore they undid it. They toppled what they had framed, what they had shaped” (*PV* Christenson 67). The monotheistic God also sends a deluge, to blot out His defective handiwork, although never going so far as to admit that the pre-Deluge humanity was an actual error.<sup>232</sup>

Before the wood/clay human experiments, the first segment of the *Popul Vuh* affirms that the animals whom the gods created could not speak, and so could not praise their own Creators. “But they did not succeed. They did not speak like people. They only squawked and chattered and roared. Their speech was unrecognizable, for each called out in a different way” (*PV* Christenson 65). Nonetheless, the second segment of the book contradicts the animals’ inability to communicate. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, who dominate this segment, counteract the Sacrificers with the advice of the animals, (such as the abovementioned example of the

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<sup>231</sup> In the *Popul Vuh* the Creator gods fail repeatedly when attempting to forge humanity. In *Huarochiri*, the Creator deity Conirraya, although more successful at bringing the world into existence, is a trickster and a lecher, re: Cavillaca and her sisters, one of whom he seduces while he searches for Cavillaca (*HM* 2, 49).

<sup>232</sup> Judaism, Christianity and Islam share the myth of Sodom and Gomorrah, cities destroyed due to sexual and moral depravity: “And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and the entire plane, and all the inhabitants of the cities...” (Genesis XIX, 24-25).

coati “nosing” along the chilacayote squash that Ixbalaamque uses to substitute for Hunahpu’s head). Prior to this, Ixqiq herself was able to converse, in human terms, with the owls. In comparison with Ixqiq and her offspring, the Creator gods were too obtuse to extract meaning from the animals’ voices. Ixqiq and the Twins could do what the Creator gods could not.

Ixbalaamque is truly his mother’s son. His name contains the component of the female *Ix* and of the *balaam*/jaguar. Like Ixqiq, the jaguar-son conveys his wishes to his animal brethren through speech. Conquering the Lords of Xibalba on the ball-court requires lengthy consultation and planning. Ixbalaamque engages with coatids, with peccaries, with flies, frogs, birds and, in the most starkly comic episode of the epic, with a rabbit. “ ‘Be there at the head of the ball-court in the tomato patch,’ the rabbit was told by Ixbalaamque. ‘And when the rubber ball comes your way, hop away until I accomplish my task,’ the rabbit was told” (*PV* Christenson 163). The unobtrusive little bunny is the stellar player on Ixbalaamque’s team: “Thus the lords of Xibalba threw down the ball where it was met by Ixbalaamque. The ball landed before his yoke and bounced away. It sailed clear over the ball court. It just bounced once, then twice, landing in the tomatoes. Then the rabbit came out, hopping along. All the Xibalbans thus went after him. The Xibalbans all went after the rabbit, shouting and rushing about” (*PV* Christenson 164). And so the rabbit leads the Xibalbans literally down the garden path.

The rabbit looms large in Maya art as a scribe, where his rapid hopping mimics the quickness of thought. This is the way he is portrayed on the *Princeton Vessel*, from the Campeche region of the Yucatan peninsula (7<sup>th</sup> century ACE). On that vase, the bunny shares



the Twins' penchant for impertinence: he is shown insulting a venerable god of the Maya pantheon, *God L*.<sup>233</sup>

Ixbalaamque conspires with the rabbit on the ball field to great effect, since this Twin is a shaman who intuits the animal's intent. Thanks to his telepathic abilities, Ixbalaamque outshines the Creator gods, who were annoyed by the animals' supposed "chattering." Even more impressive, Ixbalaamque silences his brother's chattering when needed. He does so once Hunahpu has a head again, and more ominously, a mouth: " 'Don't play ball. Just look threatening. I will surely be the one to accomplish it,' said Ixbalaamque to him" (*PV* Christenson 163). The rabbit's pivotal role in these circumstances (in the absence of Hunahpu's real head) owes a lot to ensemble playing. All contribute to the game's success, from Ixbalaamque in command, to his animal assistants, to Hunahpu with his transitional squash-head. "But Hunahpu just called out: 'Strike the head as if it were a rubber ball,' they [the Xibalbans] were told. 'No harm will come to us now, for we are holding our own' " (*PV* Christenson 164).

The fact that a lesser god (Ixbalaamque) surpassed the Creator deities thanks to his affinity with the fauna of Mayab underscores the motif of evolution in the *Popul Vuh*. He is more perceptive than the greater gods. The idea of a lesser being improving upon the existing universe explains why the Creator gods had obscured human sight. They were afraid that it would outstrip their own. " 'What now can be done to them so that their vision reaches only nearby, so that only a little of the face of the earth can be seen by them? For it is not good what they say. Is not their existence merely framed, merely shaped? It is a mistake that they have become like gods' " (*PV* Christenson, 187). Creation lost its second-sight, but it made up for it

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<sup>233</sup> Velazquez Garcia. "Reflections on the Codex Style and the Princeton Vessel" 13-4: The image of the rabbit taunting the older god some 900 years before the written account of the *Popul Vuh* points to the continuity, and the antiquity, of key concepts in the text. The rabbit is always associated with scribal writing, thought, and ideas.

with intelligence and feeling. Lesser gods, and humans, will decipher the contents of the “message animals.”<sup>234</sup>

Development and evolution in Creation does not bode well for the greater deities, but it does for the Twins and, subsequently, for human beings; Hunahpu and Ixbalamque blur the frontier between the godly and the mortal. As with Paria Caca, their anger at the unjust dictates of the greater gods draws them closer to the human world, and makes it easier for us, the human readers/listeners/spectators of the stories, to sympathize with them. This contradiction between the first and second segments of the *Popul Vuh*, in which the animals are described as incapable of speech but then become, from Ixq'iq's owls onward, very skilled conversationalists, suggests different authorship of the chapters. If so, the writing of the end of the first and the entire second segment (commencing with Ixq'iq's rebellion and ending with the Twins' triumph over Xibalba) presupposes a literary rebellion **within the parameters** of the text. The writing rebels against itself, raising the possibility of multiple authorship of the *Popul Vuh*.<sup>235</sup> Textual rebellion is in keeping with the over-all perspective of this epic. Just as Creation rebels against the Creators, second chapters revolt against their first predecessors.

The combined intelligence of Twins and animals outfoxes the underworld. If the *Popul Vuh* had been an Aztec legend, the victorious animal would be the predatory jaguar. If it had European, it would be a rampant lion or a white horse. In the Mayan cosmovision, the hero is a rabbit. As mentioned previously, and in contrast to other Andeans, Inca sovereigns chose not to confuse themselves with fauna, unlike Paria Caca, who is first hatched as five falcons,<sup>236</sup> and

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<sup>234</sup> The concept of “message animals,” particularly birds, is still extremely influential in Native American culture, from the Algonquians of North America to the Mapuches of South America.

<sup>235</sup> The same inconsistency imbues the first and second chapters of the Book of Genesis. In the first, God creates man and woman on the sixth day. In the second, Adam is alone, and God creates Eve from Adam's rib.

<sup>236</sup> Cuzco's Museum of Incan Art makes this point abundantly clear, textually and visually. Inca kings do not assume animal forms, nor did they compare themselves to animals. They were perfect solar incarnations, period.

so avoided associations with the shamanism of their subjugated neighbors.<sup>237</sup> The Inca emperor was the son of the Sun, and his body was so perfect that it had to be mummified post-mortem. Shape-shifting into an animal would have been undignified. But the Mayas, like the non-Incan Andeans, enjoyed human/animal play, e.g.: the description of prince Kumatz from the final dynastic sequence of the *Popul Vuh*: “Kumatz [Plumed Serpent] became a true lord of genius. On one occasion he would climb up to the sky, on another he would go down the road to Xibalba. On another occasion he would be serpentine, becoming an actual serpent...It was just his way of revealing himself....” (*PV* Tedlock 186).

Animal-wise, *Huarochiri*'s similarity is with the *Popul Vuh*, with the far-off Maya and not with the closer Incas. In Chapter 2 of the *HM*, the lowly fox, not the majestic condor, spoke the truth to the god Conirraya while he sought for his beloved Cavillaca: “ ‘She’s already gone far away. You’ll never find her now,’ that fox told him” (*HM* 2, 48). Infuriated, Conirraya cursed all animals who dared to address him honestly, but these animals, (the fox, the skunk, the parakeets) impress the reader/listener for their boldness. *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* extol spunk, not rank. Victory belongs to the small, such as the said bunny, who leads the Lords astray in the tomato garden, or the upstart little fox, who humiliates the Creator Deity.

### 3.9 Psychological Warfare on the Ball-Court of Xibalba

“Thus the Twins were able to retrieve the head of Hunahpu, replacing it where the chilacayote squash had been. They then placed the chilacayote squash on the ball court, while the true head of Hunahpu was his once more. Therefore they both rejoiced again. While the

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<sup>237</sup> This is the generalized opinion of Peruvian archaeologists to the present day. The Museum of the Inca (in Cuzco) details how abstract Incan geometric forms replaced human/animal representation on royal insignia.

Xibalbans were out searching for their rubber ball, the Twins retrieved it from the tomato patch” (*PV* Christenson 165).

During the match, the Xibalbans trust to the fact that they have hidden Hunahpu’s real head from Ixbalaamque. From the Lords’ perspective in the text, there is no reason to doubt that the spectacle of tossing Hunahpu’s disembodied head on to the ball-court will unnerve Ixbalaamque, given that the precedent of the Twins’ father(s) did not foreshadow much resistance from their progeny. “Thus they [their fathers] were sacrificed and buried. It was at the place named Crushing Ball court that they were buried. The head of One Hunahpu was cut off, while the rest of his body was buried with his younger brother” (*PV* Christenson 113).

What the Lords don’t know is that in the interim Ixbalaamque and his animal helpers/actors have retrieved Hunahpu’s real head, confounding the Xibalbans with an optical illusion of head, squash, and rabbit. Hunahpu’s squash-head carried the promise of sustenance, for corn, beans and squash were the sacred threesome of Mesoamerican agriculture. At first unnerved by Hunahpu’s decapitation, Ixbalaamque unnerves the Xibalbans with his use of the chilacayote squash in lieu of Hunahpu’s head. The *Popul Vuh* deems it a worthy model of its predecessor: “Only its beautiful covering had appeared. It only had the ability to speak by the time the horizon of the sky began to redden, for it was about to dawn” (*PV* Christenson 162). Hunahpu’s verbal ability returns only *after* the success of Ixbalaamque’s consultations with his animal assistants; otherwise he might have spoken too hastily.

A wild goose-chase ensues, with real and false heads changing hands, and torsos. The Xibalbans run frenetically after a bouncing ball-trophy head, unaware that this object is the energetic and versatile rabbit. In the interim, Hunahpu’s head is being refashioned: “For his head was well supported. It became just like a true head. Then they planned a deception; then

they took counsel together...” (PV Christenson 163). The “counsel” that is the foundation stone of the *Popul Vuh*, the book of the counsel mat, becomes the marker on the unmarked road that led to Xibalba. The road is not always solemn; in this ball-court instance, it is sheer slapstick. The pompous Lords race in pursuit of a harmless animal, and the rabbit, representing the scribe, swift as thought, has the upper hand, (or paw). Ixbalaamque and the rabbit turn the imbecilic Lords into laughingstocks, and Xibalbans are so clumsy that they amuse the Twins more than they frighten them. It is in fact the Twins who terrify the Xibalbans, shattering what the latter believe to be Hunahpu’s severed head. “And so they began again to play ball, both teams making equal plays until at last Ixbalaamque struck the chilacayote squash, strewing it all over the ball-court. Thus its seeds were scattered before them” (PV Christenson 165). The Xibalbans had thumbed their collective nose at the rules of engagement, so now the Twins, and their rabbit, do the same. Irma Pineda states that, in Zapotec Mexican writing, the rabbit is “...always ready, and always manages to defeat every adversity thanks to *his intelligence and his mockery of those who are stronger than he*” [My translation].<sup>238</sup>

Firmly inscribed in non-Aztec Mesoamerican tradition, the union between Ixbalaamque and the rabbit represents the state of mental and spiritual readiness to assume leadership. After their prowess is tested on the ball-court, the Xibalbans’ fury is stoked by the anonymous nature of their challengers: “ ‘What is this that has been brought here? Where is he that brought it?’ ” (PV Christenson 165). But real strength, as demonstrated by the alliance between the Twins and the animals, lies in intelligence, and intelligence lies in one’s capacity to negotiate with Nature. Although magic suffuses all goings on in the *Popul Vuh*, no supernatural Hercules is necessary. A rabbit, acting in tandem with Ixbalaamque and the forest ensemble, is sufficient.

<sup>238</sup> Irma Pineda. “Literatura Zapoteca” 159: The original Spanish reads “...la personaje presente en varias historias de la tradicion indigena: el conejo, siempre listo, que logra vencer todas las adversidades gracias a su inteligencia y burlarse de los más fuertes.”

Until this point, Ixbalaamque had played the “moon” to Hunahpu’s “sun,” roles that they embody in the epic’s denouement. “One of them arose as the sun, the other as the moon” (*PV* Christenson 179). Readers from the monotheistic tradition should not interpret Ixbalaamque’s moon in light of the Biblical/Koranic description of the firmament’s “lesser light”: “the lesser light to rule the stars” (Genesis I:16). Ixbalaamque’s moon defeats the forces of the night, which is something that his solar Twin is incapable of doing. Ixbalaamque/moon constantly rescues and regenerates Hunahpu’s sun. Luckily, Hunahpu’s light is rechargeable, as seen by the reattachment of his severed arm: “When at length Seven Macaw died, Hunahpu retrieved his arm” (*PV* Christenson 88).

Still, reattaching severed arms pales in comparison to reattaching severed heads. When Ixbalaamque summons gods as well as animals, in the maximum expression of the counsel mat, of *pop*, that is the name and heart of the *Popul Vuh*, he initiates a grand, transcendent healing. “Numerous sages came down from the sky. For Heart of Sky, he who is Hurricane appeared here” (*PV* Christenson 162). Even destructive forces, such as Huracan (hurricane) come to help. This is due to the fact that Ixbalaamque is a healer, not a wizard. Healing remains an integral component of indigenous spiritual training in the Andes, Central and North America.<sup>239</sup> (Similar empathy is lacking in Conirraya, when he curses the lowly animals who tell him the truth in the *HM*). Victory is achieved on this dialogic basis, since Ixbalaamque, unlike Conirraya, benefits from his interactions with lowly animals, learning from their truth rather than berating them for it.

Rebecca Stone Miller, in studies of Native American shamanism, mentions that “there is no denying the visual evidence that the cultural categories of ‘human,’ ‘animal’ and ‘plant’

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<sup>239</sup> In *The Spirit of Healing* CD 1, Stanford University-trained neurologist Lewis Mehl-Madrona underscores the element of genuine intention that must be present for healing to occur, in the Cherokee/Lakota Sioux traditions.

were seen and depicted as overlapping, even to some extent interchangeable, all across the ancient Americas.”<sup>240</sup> Every aspect of Creation, human and fox and rabbit, must therefore act in tandem so that Xibalba will not swallow our Middle and Upper Worlds, or the game is lost. Conscious of the high stakes, the shaman Ixbalaamque orients Nature in its agonistic match with Evil. And long after Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, this ball-game continues into eternity. Anthony Aveni asserts that the game recreates the Venus passage through the sky, for 236 days the morning star and 250 days the evening star, alternately passing behind and in front of the sun, during its 584 day cycle (*Skywatchers of the Ancient World* 274).

The stars may well have been in the background, but animals occupied the foreground. Notes Miller on the *PV*: “Thus, this formative Maya narrative placed animals at the earliest stages of humanity, featured them as main characters throughout, and at times even let animals gain the upper hand.”<sup>241</sup>

### 3.10 *The Hunting Grounds of Huarochiri*

The same themes of counsel, of advice, of dialogues false and true that permeate the *PV*, emerge from the encounter between Paria Caca and the “Hugi.” The “Hugi” is a creature whose strangeness remains within the frightening boundaries of the unsaid. “At that time, Huallallo Carhuinchu, never forgetful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *Hugi* to appear on the same mountain where he lived. This’ll bring grief to Paria Caca! he thought” (*HM* 17, 94-5). Regarding beasts and monsters in the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, the lack of any

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<sup>240</sup> Rebecca Stone Miller. “Human-Animal Imagery, Shamanic Visions, and Ancient American Aesthetics” 48.

<sup>241</sup> Rebecca Stone Miller 47.

portrayal at all, the “spaces between the letters,”<sup>242</sup> dwarfs the most lurid imagination. By the time the Hugi shows up, Paria Caca has endured an appalling parade of Andean monsters: Amaru the two-headed dragon, the fiendish *Caci* Bird, Huallallo himself, and Huallallo’s hellish spouse, Mana Namca (The last is, ironically, one of the names of Paria Caca’s five-armed sister, Chaupi Namca, hinting at interrelated cultural roots of the worship of Paria Caca and of Huallallo. According to the *HM* 10, 77: “And she [Chaupi Namca] herself used to say, ‘Paria Caca is my brother’ ”). After all, the most blood-curdling monsters may be found in one’s own family, a truism espoused by Maya and Andeans long before Sigmund Freud.

All those ghouls were bad, but the Hugi is worse. No words suffice for it, and the Hugi remains a shadowy entity, perhaps the only being that can destabilize Paria Caca’s worship: “Had that Hugi lived, it would have taken Paria Caca’s life or something” (*HM* 17, 95). The vagueness of the Hugi’s description in the text may be a deliberate omission. It intensifies the horror of the unknown and the unsaid on the part of the Quechua-speaking informant(s)/scribe(s) who authored the *Manuscript*. Any visual descriptions of this Creature would certainly have been seized upon by the idol-extirpating Father Avila, who commissioned the text, as evidence of flagrant “paganism.” The Hugi (whatever the aspects of its indescribable nature) is the terror of the blank page. It is the night with no moon or stars, of what *may* lie in wait. It is the limitless horror of the imagination, and contrasts with clear descriptions of other beasts in the text.

At first, Paria Caca attempts to obliterate the Hugi by summoning the fire-rain that incapacitated Huallallo. This time however, Paria Caca fails, and the Hugi continues his marauding spree. “All the people chased after it, and yet it never fell prey. Paria Caca flashed

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<sup>242</sup> The idea of the ‘spaces’ comes from the 12<sup>th</sup> century Spanish Jewish mystic, Jose de Chiquotilla, who used this idea to describe the power of the unseen and the insinuated in the Biblical text. This was the empty space that would be filled, in Chiquotilla’s thought, by additional writings of the Cabala.



and stormed, and yet it never died” (*HM* 17, 95). The Hugi appears to be a new type of monster, who defies identification/classification, and defies Paria Caca’s might as well. In order to defeat the Beast, the Hugi’s extermination mandates the collaboration of the village clans with the rain-god. Alone, Paria Caca cannot annihilate this critter, and so, as Ixbalaamque dialogues with our four-legged brothers, Paria Caca dialogues with the two-legged ones. “For that reason, Paria Caca commanded the people of Tahuantin Suyu, ‘Go capture that animal called Hugi!’ ” (*HM* 17, 95).

It is a natural development for this now somewhat vulnerable deity to confer with the peoples of Huarochiri, whose lives he protects from the child-devouring Huallallo. In *Huarochiri*, the townsfolk do not conceive of themselves as less valuable to Paria Caca because are not gods or kings; they consider themselves worthy enough to sustain a conversation with their god face to face. One of Paria Caca’s worshippers even demonstrates greater heroism and valor than the god himself, by actually capturing the dreaded Hugi... (*HM* 17, 95): “But way far away, a man of the Checa, of the Caca Sica ayllu, did capture it.” Human beings can rescue deities and vice-versa, and gods and humans are equally vulnerable in *Huarochiri*. Because Paria Caca is saved by a mortal devotee, *Huarochiri*’s vision of Creation encourages gods and humans to look to each other for help.

Neither gods’ omnipotence nor Creation’s permanence can be taken for granted. Unlike Aristotelian theories asserting the stability of matter, Creation in the Andean sense must be constantly re-conquered and reaffirmed in the face of Evil. This is why Huallallo never really goes away, nor does Xibalba. Evil is weakened, but human beings (and animals) cannot afford to be complacent. In the *HM*, gods and humans continuously remake the world, the *pacha*, together. According to the *Manuscript*, even when the Spanish colonial regime prohibited them

from doing so, people still remembered their sacred geography, the physical outcroppings of the *pacha*, thus re-making their colonial post-Conquest world. “There’s another snowcapped peak, unclimbable, the mountain called Huama Yaco... after the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared...when people saw the mountain’s snowy peak...they said, ‘That’s Paria Caca’. But they say Paria Caca himself lived a little farther down, inside a cliff. Paria Caca and his brothers entered this crag and made it their home, saying, ‘Here I shall dwell. From this place you must worship me’ ” (HM 17, 94).

In the story of the Brothers Ayar, as related by Murua,<sup>243</sup> the first Incas, brothers and sisters all, emerge *from* the crags of Pacaritambo and conquer Cuzco for their dynasty; in the non-Incan Andean vision, Paria Caca, the quintuple deity of the five brothers, remains *within* the crags as a protective natural force for all human beings. The Incan sun was eventually dethroned from the sky, but Huarochiri’s deities continue to remain within the earth, even having a giggle at those, like the colonial Viceroy, who thought that Huama Yaco’s peak indicated Paria Caca.

The Hugi’s being is horrific enough to mandate Paria Caca’s ongoing protection from within the crags of Inca Caya, not merely from Huama Yaco’s peak. Repelling this monster requires an effort that encompasses all of Nature, although the Hugi is, in effect, anti-natural. So, is the Hugi a perverse *carcancha*, the impossible combination of animal or human attributes present in Andean oral and written literature?<sup>244</sup> No, he (she? it?) is something worse, therefore Paria Caca recognizes this new entity as beyond his powers. So as not to be overwhelmed, he delegates the tasks at hand to some of his heroic human followers. In a

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<sup>243</sup> Murua, Chapter 2, 49.

<sup>244</sup> John Bierhorst and Jesus Lara are two prominent folklorists of Andean areas whose collections include many references to “carcanchas”: two-headed llamas, bird-humans, etc. All are vividly described, but the Hugi is not.

narrative sense, Paria Caca's actions recall Ixbalaamque's delegation of the tasks on the ball-court to the forest animals. Nonetheless, Paria Caca is at much greater peril than Ixbalaamque. The Maya hero relied on rabbits, but the Andean is at the mercy of a more capricious animal: the human.

None of Paria Caca's struggles with Huallallo prepare him for the unpredictability of human beings. With Huallallo, the battle lines were clearly drawn: life or death, bloody sacrifice or prayer offerings. In the square-off against the Hugi (whatever it is), human beings blur otherwise concise quandaries; they might wish to combat Evil, but then succumb to evil within their own natures. Great dichotomies, such as Paria Caca vs. Huallallo, are easily defined. Pettier emotions, such as human greed and ambition, are *not* clearly defined, and they cannot be neatly contained any more than the monster can: "The moment it appeared, the Hugi escaped into the countryside" (*HM* 17, 95). Somehow we will learn to tame the beast we cannot slay.

Paria Caca never trembles before demons, but human beings drive him almost to tears. As he learns, the real hero who subdued the Hugi is a member of the Caca Sica clan, who was inveigled by the "man of Quinti" into sharing his trophy with the Quinti trickster. "Then a Quinti man spoke to him: 'Brother, you've actually caught it! You're a lucky man! Just go right home displaying its tail as a sign of victory. As for the carcass, I'll take it away.' 'All right', the man replied. After this exchange, the Quinti man went back by a different route, and told Paria Caca, 'Father, I'm the one who caught it' " (*HM* 17, 95).

Human nature, in its generosity and cupidity, displays itself before Paria Caca: the man who actually captured the beast, and the man who lied about it. Moreover, the duplicity of the man of Quinti, Choc Payco, extends beyond deluding his fellow villager. Temporarily, he

manages to trick the god Paria Caca. “Paria Caca rejoiced exultantly and praised him” (HM 17, 95). But once Choc Payco’s fraud is exposed, the god rages, then learns that his human progeny are in need of guidance. Circumstances warranting, they need punishment as well, as falsehoods are severe transgressions in Andean life. One of the three principles of Andean interaction remains “*ama llulla*” (literally: do not lie), and has been so for centuries.<sup>245</sup> While Paria Caca does not expel the Quinti wrongdoer for lying, he does shame him publicly. This form of “losing face” leads to social ostracism for the shamed subject in a clan-based society. “Later on, when the other man delivered the tail, Paria Caca upbraided Choc Payco in scathing language: ‘For lying to me, go fight with the Quinti; They’ll call you a stinker, and your offspring too’ ” (HM 17, 95). Since, as Salomon reminds us in note 416, p. 95, Choc Payco is “named as the most senior and privileged of Paria Caca’s offspring,” the god’s retribution gains an added dimension: Choc Payco, the “stinker,” is in fact one of the god’s own sons!

It is clear from this episode that Paria Caca does not excuse his own lineage from wrongdoing. Moreover, he elevates another tribe, the Checa, to the status of his own children, thanks to the virtue of the man whom his son Choc Payco tricked. Choc Payco would have enjoyed favorable status as Paria Caca’s firstborn had he been better behaved, as he did in previous times: “Because he was the oldest of them all, the one called Choc Payco traveled in high honor on a litter” (HM 12, 82). Yet faced with the truth, Paria Caca condemns his son’s reprehensible behavior and gives redress to the Checa hero: “Because you are the one who captured it, you have become *yanca* [priest of a great huaca’s cult]. I will listen to you alone, and to everything you may tell me. If other people have something to tell me, they must let you hear it first” (HM 17, 95).

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<sup>245</sup> Yanez del Pozo 147. The other two principles are, as noted by that author, “*ama quilla*” (do not be idle) and “*ama shua*” (do not steal). The last principle would also forbid adultery and more sophisticated types of thieving, such as that practiced by Choc Payco when he offers to “relieve” the real hero of the Hugi’s carcass.

The heroism of the man of the Caca Sica clan in his fight against the Hugi emulates Paria Caca's earlier efforts against Huallallo, and the human completes the epic cycle begun by the god. Help is supplied by a Yunca villager to a Yauyo god, and the Yauyo god Paria Caca recognizes how the foreigners, the Checa and the Yunca, have behaved better than his own family. Andean clan-ties notwithstanding, water in *Huarochiri* is thicker than blood. It is a particularly interesting twist in mountain cultures where the extended clan is a fact of life, but in the text, bloodlines do not always reign supreme.

The same could be said of certain aspects of Andean village life, where one could abandon one's *ayllu*, or be adopted into another one. "If a Huayllas man is married to a native Surco village woman and performs these rituals, the members of that community don't take away his fields or anything else of his, even though he's an outsider. On the contrary, they respect him and help him" (*HM* 9, 73). The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* thus share an identical definition of family. Kinship is not sacrosanct. Ixqiq disobeys her Xibalban father, and Paria Caca disgraces his dishonest son. Blood ties do not predominate over all, a facet obvious in the intertwining of Yunca and Yauyo families in the Lurin valley.

Gerald Taylor and Frank Salomon have studied how the combined presence of Yunca and Yauyo peoples in the *Huarochiri Manuscript* evolved beyond open warfare into a manageable, though tense, coexistence. Although certain chapters in the *HM* refer to earlier periods of armed conflict, violence gives way to a mutual cessation of hostilities and the consensual boundaries of both groups. In Chapter 31 of *Huarochiri*, a Yunca boy, Yasali, is adopted by Yauyo invaders, one of whom, Llacsá Misa, defies his own kinsmen to save the "other": "Llacsá Misa got angry and said, 'My brothers, I've told you plenty of times. Watch out or your bones might wind up in the lake. I say, let him [Yasali] live!' Only then did the

others fall silent” (*HM* 138). Llacsá Misa is not hostage to his biological Yauyo brothers; he transcends blood ties and prefers his adopted Yunca son.

Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, Yunca peoples were displaced towards Huarochiri’s lowlands, while nomadic Yauyo newcomers occupied the highlands. In the pages of *Huarochiri*, Yauyo male gods were frequently being seduced by Yunca women; Paria Caca, as we have seen, was so desperate to gain Choque Suso’s sexual favors that he built her an entire irrigation system. War is supplanted by sex. Yunca-Yauyo coexistence is sanctioned by the gods, and it is the better option in the Andes, where starvation always lurks around the corner, and fratricidal warfare is not only tragic, but existentially stupid. The *HM* may have posited the *a posteriori* “possibility” that Yauyo Paria Caca and Yunca Chaupi Namca were brother and sister, as a way of cementing bonds between the two peoples: “Some people say about Chaupi Namca, she was Paria Caca’s sister. And she herself used to say, Paria Caca is my brother” (*HM* 10, 77). They may both be the children of the same celestial goddess, Hanan Maccla, and the godlike sun Punchao (*HM* 13, 84). Whatever their parentage, the designation of Chaupi Namca as chief Yunca goddess and Paria Caca as chief Yauyo god, attributed an equal status to both of them.<sup>246</sup> The Sun was everybody’s father and Hanan Maccla, goddess of the heights, was everybody’s mother. Inca theories of exclusive solar parentage are nowhere to be found, and though the writers of the *HM* would have known of such stories, they ignored them, (along with any mention of the Incas’ sun god Inti) thoroughly.

Yauyo and Yunca lives intersected often during festivals designed to defuse inter-ethnic hostilities. Paria Caca’s Yunca “sister”, Chaupi Namca, enjoyed similar sorts of worship as her Yauyo “brother,” and the worship continued clandestinely despite colonial persecution:

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<sup>246</sup> Yanez del Pozo 107-8. This author accepts Salomon’s idea of the coexistence of Yunca/Yauyo cultures, adding to it the complexity of different ethnicities conjoined in the same religion, as well as subverting the idea of Yauyo patrilineal supremacy. As the text shows, Yauyo men/gods often succumb to Yunca women/goddesses.

“...people would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca... driving their llamas... They’d lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca... when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, the people hid Chaupi Namca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama near the Catholic priest’s stable. She’s there to this day, inside the earth” (*HM* 10, 77).

Her five arms, like her sibling Paria Caca’s five selves, delineate the sacred interval of Andean space-time, in defiance of her persecutors above ground. Within the earth, there in Mama, near the priest’s stable, of all places, the pagan goddess survives. Chaupi Namca’s festival, the *Chaycasna* (*HM* 9, 72) celebrated Yunca divinities within the dominant Yauyo pantheon. Yunca gods and goddesses were respected in their own right, rather than constituting a lesser stratum in the Yauyo universe. That is why Paria Caca himself and by extension, all of humanity, can be saved from the Hugi by the *Yunca* man of Quinti, since a Yunca’s heroism is no less than a Yauyo’s.

Paria Caca’s worship was a later Yauyo insertion into the Yunca region. The *HM* registers the transition from the sacrificial form of worship to the non-sacrificial form as the progress of “Paria Caca’s children.” (That phrase appears at the beginning of *HM* 12, 82, which tells of Yauyo men/gods succumbing to Yunca women). Previous Yunca deities continued to be revered, although not sacrificed to, in the wake of the Yauyo invasion. Having desisted from offering up human beings, the Yuncas became equally entitled to the title of Paria Caca’s children, and were able to perpetuate, via adoption, Paria Caca’s lineage.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Yanez del Pozo, (108) illustrates how bloodlines in *Huarochiri* give way to personal choice, as in Chap. 31, where the adopted protagonist Yasali cedes his Yunca patrilineal rights to his Yauyo wife and offspring. Although the *ayllu*/clan is a patrilineal organism, it may be altered due to mutual agreement. Gender roles and their social correlate, inheritance, are not set in stone in *Huarochiri*.

*Huarochiri's* message eschews ethnic chauvinism. Once Paria Caca designated the Yunca Caca Sica clan (due to the heroic actions of the Hugi fighter) as his new favored people, Yunca/Yauyo feuding ends. Like Llacsá Misa with his son Yasali, the Yauyo god prefers his Yunca adoptees over his own children. With the passage of time, mixed moieties of Yuncas and Yauyos took precedence over purely Yauyo clans, and Yunca clans were granted the right of hereditary priesthood, the *yanca* institution, by Paria Caca. "From that time on, they too were *yancas*. As for the Concha, their *yanca's* name was one too bestowed by Paria Caca. It was Huatusi. And similarly in all the villages the *yanca* were given names by Paria Caca" (*HM* 17, 95). The content of one's character, to borrow Martin Luther King's phrase, spoke louder than tribal, "ethnic" or "national" affiliations in the *HM*, and kinship origins shared the stage with a flexibility of gender, clan, and political definitions.

### 3.11 *A Cycle of Monsters*

The Hugi is defeated, but Huallallo does not vanish into oblivion. The cannibal god, sans monsters now, slips into the realm of Anti, where he still lurks: "Finally Huallallo Caruinchu fled toward the low country, the Antis. Another of Paria Caca's offspring chased after him. He stays at the pass down to the lowlands, the Antis, until today, 'Lest Huallallo Carhuinchu return,' as he says. His name was Paria Carco" (*HM* 8, 68). Anti/the Amazon is the eastern portion of what the Incas called *Tahuantinsuyu*, the land of the "joined four corners," a concept that never denoted clear territorial lines.<sup>248</sup> Anti was the untamed portion of what became Cuzco's empire. Until the end of their reign, the Incan armies never fully subdued the

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<sup>248</sup> John Hyslop argues for the idea of shifting territorial boundaries in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century Andes in "Las fronteras estatales extremas de Tawantinsuyu" (33-52) in Dillehay and Netherly's *La frontera del estado inca* (1998).



denizens of Anti. Even their most militant Conquistador/Emperor, Tupac Yupanqui, (1471-1493), never managed to implement more than a rudimentary system of trade and barter with the Anti peoples. The region remained an enigma as dense as its jungle foliage.<sup>249</sup>

From the perspective of the peoples of Huarochiri (colonized by the Incas under Tupac Yupanqui), Anti, which the all-mighty Incas could not conquer, must have occupied the same space as did Terra Incognita in the minds of medieval European mapmakers. As such, it was the land to which all supposed “monsters” (Huallallo, his wife Mana Namca, and the unknown peoples of the Amazon) were banished, a no-man’s land in the Andean imagination. Similar to European maritime cartography, which exhibited the adage *Here be monsters* beyond the pillars of Hercules, Anti, more as a construct than as a geographical entity, was the place where monsters dwelled. They were weakened in our world (Huarochiri), but in Anti, the monsters persisted.

Anti and Xibalba are facets of the same philosophical diamond. They are areas of foreboding that live a double life between the literary map and the mind. Happily for humans, their obstacles are surmountable. One can permeate, penetrate, and transcend their borders. Yet Xibalba and Anti remain places of danger, although one’s entrapment in them does not. Both regions, representing fear and trouble, are an ever-present part of life and cannot be relegated to a comfortably remote past. On one hand, the relative porousness of physical and metaphysical boundaries enables one to escape from Anti or Xibalba (as Ixqiq does, and as we hope that the Hugi will never do). On the other hand, porousness also allows those creatures of the Underworld, like repressed emotions rising to the fore, to wreak havoc from time to time in our Middle World.

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<sup>249</sup> An excellent discussion of Tupac Yupanqui’s failed policies with the Anti inhabitants is found in MacQuarrie’s *The Last Days of the Incas*. Tupac’s attempts to “civilize” (and clothe) the jungle-dwelling Antis were reportedly met with derision by the Antis, who continued to live in a permanent state of un-dress.

Because Huallallo can return, Paria Caca's "emanations," his brother/son Paria Carco<sup>250</sup> and his injured son Choque Huampo, must vigilantly guard the frontier with Anti. "Now we'll explain how Paria Caca returned after he left his brother Paria Carco at the pass into the Anti lowlands" (*HM* 17, 94). Anti, like the crisscrossing torrents of Xibalba, is where humans, gods and monsters overlap. For better or for worse, the netherworld portals of Xibalba and Anti and all their comings and goings are always open, and always reversible.

Anti and Xibalba are reasons to initiate counsel, collaboration, and strategic planning, in order to prevent the reappearance of monsters. Gods, humans, animals and plants join in this multivalent conversation. Any one of them, or all of them, may assume protagonism at any given time, from llamas (*HM*) to rabbits (*PV*), given the exigencies of the situation. The sustained effort against Huallallo and the Lords of Xibalba, neither of whom will ever completely go away, triggers the dialogue and creative thought manifested in the Twins' cooperation with animals, and in Paria Caca's cooperation with the human animal. In the *PV* and the *HM*, adaptability and ideas determine victory. Brute force, in abundance amongst the likes of Huallallo and the Lords of Xibalba, produces pandemonium. In our narratives, words and not muscles reign supreme.

### 3.12 Questioning Hierarchies in Mayab and the Andes-From God to Beggar and Back Again

Aspects of being (plant, animal), deemed "lesser" than human in the monotheistic, Inca or Aztec chain of Creation, find loud voices in the Mayan and Andean epics. Politically, "lesser" human beings, such as the poor and the marginalized, express themselves, and chief among them is the prototype of the "beggar." His/her paradigm indicated fissures in the social

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<sup>250</sup> Paria Carco is referred to on the same page in a crossed out side note as Paria Caca's brother, contradicting the text which refers to him as offspring, "Find out if these are brothers since it's said that they came out of the eggs, or if they're the Paria Caca's children.-They were brothers." (Avila's note to segment 105, p. 68 in the *HM*).

order, and subverted the harmony of Mayab and Huarochiri. The hungry and the thirsty signal that something is amiss in the social fabric, in each of these areas where food is never in abundance, and where water often comes too much or not at all.<sup>251</sup> Seeing as neither gods nor humans always exhibit identifiable markers as such in either text, it is remarkable that when gods do assume identifiable disguises, the most prominent of these is the “beggar.”

The self-contained nucleus of the Maya village employed all of its resources to survive in a collective sense. Social marginalization of any one member weakened the polity in the face of its other (Maya and non-Maya) foes. In a similar vein, the severe climatic stress in the Andes and on the Peruvian coast (Huarochiri straddles the midpoint between the two regions) banished most opportunities for class-based strife, seeing as internal disunity would result in agricultural disorganization, which would spell starvation for all.

Much empathy is shown towards the beggar and the indigent poor in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. Scorn is directed at those who abuse the poor, and generosity is incumbent upon the wealthier clan members. Xibalba is a case in point, when the Lords are condescending towards the two “poor” jugglers who appear following the so-called death of the Twins. The Xibalbans look upon the ragged strangers as sheer entertainment, and one of the privileges of lordship is the right to be entertained. “At length the news of their dances came to the ears of the Lords One Death and Seven Death. And when they had heard of it, they said, ‘Who are these two poor orphans? Is it truly delightful? Is it true that their dancing and all that they do is beautiful?’ ” (*PV* Christenson 170). The irony, and the delight, of the *Popul Vuh* lie in watching how an arrogant audience is humbled by such “lowly” performers. The Twins’

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<sup>251</sup> Contrary to jungle stereotypes, Mayan territories include vast swathes of dry ground in which the only water comes from underground aquifers, which are few and far between. As for Peru, the aridity of much of its landscape and the severe temperature swings of El Nino/La Nina embitter life for fishers and farmers alike. In both areas, flash floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes are well-known and highlight the precariousness of existence and the increased need for group/clan/village solidarity.

forbears One and Seven Hunahpu were laid low by Xibalba; now the merry-go-round will lay low One and Seven Death at the hands of the Twins.

When Paria Caca is refused sustenance in the village of Yaru Tini, shunned for being a beggar, his revenge is swift, with mercy reserved for the only inhabitant who demonstrated a charitable disposition: “Five days later, a violent wind rose up. This wind whirled every single person of the Colli head over heels two or three times and whisked them off into the far distance...But that one man who’d given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he’d been told, and was spared” (*HM* 25, 125). The sacredness of five days, marking the first transition between life and death in the *HM*, determines Paria Caca’s verdict. Only the one who showed sympathy for the “poor” but in fact godly visitor, remains alive in the physical sense.

Sympathy should not be confused with solidarity, and this should not be read to insinuate a questioning of social stratification per se. The texts are not a call to revolution, but something more akin to the medieval *caritas* combined with collective social responsibility...before the Early Modern period and the primacy of the individual took root in Europe. The texts’ compassion for the poor is an attempt to ameliorate economic hardship, not to overthrow the ruling class. They do not attempt to abolish hierarchy altogether, but to make it much more humane for those on the ladder’s lower rungs.

On the question of poverty, Amerindian societies are as heterogeneous and conflictive as the rest of the world. In Native America, attitudes towards social issues changed as well **within** the same society, given different parameters of place and time. Wasteful aristocratic behavior was everywhere abundant, just as in Europe. During the early colonial period, for example, Cieza de Leon observed examples of conspicuous consumption among the distinct Yunca and Yauyo populations in Huarochiri. Writing c.1553, Cieza de Leon noted in Chapter

LVII of the *Senorio de los Incas* that the Yuncas were lavish party-aficionados: “*amigos de regocijos*” [“friends of rejoicing”-m.t.] and “*muy regalados*” [“given to show”-m.t.] (Ballesteros 167-168). The Yauyos are not described in this fashion, while Cieza differentiates them from the Yuncas (Chap. LXIII of the *Senorio*), with each polity receiving different Inca ambassadors (Ballesteros 183).

Mayan rulers of the Late Classic period (600-900 ACE) squandered huge amounts of wealth on ceremonial ball-games for their individual principalities, while those of the post-Classic period (1000-1521), no longer accorded the reverence of their predecessors, continued to waste resources in internecine disputes. Bracamonte y Sosa (*Los mayas y la tierra* 38) mentions the feuding Cocom and Xiuh families of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. They may have been stripped of their former glory by their subjects, but they employed what little treasures they had to maintain inter-city hostilities, emphasizing loyalty to their respective power bases.

Farther north in what is today the American Southwest, contemporaries of the post-Classic Maya, the Zuni, had, like the Maya, turned back from an urbanized, class-stratified complexity<sup>252</sup> to a more autonomous and village-centered existence. In that shift among both Maya and Zunis the crueler forms of social stratification were attenuated. Intergroup sharing became the norm, motivated as much by environmental demands as by a shift in conceptions of group responsibility. Hierarchy remained, but it was kinder.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> The spectacular cave-palaces and temples at Colorado’s Mesa Verde site, dating to the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> century, attest to a hierarchical division of labor among the ancestors of the Zuni. Zuni oral tradition attests to a period of profound excess, followed by scarcity, a progression encapsulated by the story of the Dragonfly.

<sup>253</sup> Cristina Rodanas retells the Zuni post-Conquest story of the Dragonfly, the insect that reminds people to be generous: “From then on, the people were careful not to take the Corn Maidens’ gifts for granted. They respected the boy and his sister, and learned their ways of kindness.” (*Dragonfly’s Tale* 32) Well-to-do villagers toss their food and riches away in gaming, resulting in famine, until a dragonfly comes and saves the only two villagers, a brother and sister, who have shown kindness to the poor. They in turn teach a different style of life to the once-proud and wasteful villagers.

Anonymous narrators recorded the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* under the shadow of Spanish colonialism, when poverty and the condition of the “beggar” would have resonated with them differently than it would have within the pre-Conquest Native American universe. Although class divisions were present in post-Classic Mayan and Yunca/Yauyo societies, they never reached the extremes of European Early Modern society. With the conquest, the internal mechanisms which had prevented starvation among Native Americans splintered and imploded. Pedro de Alvarado, Cortes’ second in command, destroyed Mayan village councils together with the local chieftains, while he gutted their supplies;<sup>254</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala records the relatively new problem of the Andean homeless and destitute, outside of any social network.<sup>255</sup> The changed colonial context in which Maya and Andeans retold/rewrote older stories of the *PV* and the *HM* granted these “beggar” tales a new and tragic socio-economic meaning.

Neither Marxist nor capitalist visions have ever comprehended the indigenous person, other than as an objectified symbol to be “liberated” or “utilized” in a European sense. But the Western reference point from which to understand the socio-economic thrust of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* is older than Karl Marx and Adam Smith. It is England’s 15<sup>th</sup> century *Ballad of*

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<sup>254</sup> Recinos & Goetz, in *Annals of the Cakchiquels* (1979, 120). Alvarado bragged, in his first report to Cortes: “And seeing that by occupying their land and burning it, I could bring them into the service of His Majesty, I decided to burn the lords...and for the good and benefit of this country, I burned them and ordered that the city be burned to its foundations.” Alvarado’s testimony (1524) surpasses any “pro-Indian” apologia for substantiating the sheer brutality of the Conquest; it also left the land unfarmable for decades, thereby contributing to starvation and poverty. In inter-tribal warfare, Native Americans generally respected the lands and fields of their enemies.

<sup>255</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala 1993, 850 (Vol II, 1048-1050). Guaman’s mention of suffering and abandoned Indian women in the town of Oropesa, near the Huancavelica mines, attests to how completely the system of Andean reciprocity had been crushed by the Conquest, and to what extent the Colonial system denigrated the Indian poor.

*Robin Hood*.<sup>256</sup> (The Ballad itself refers to events that may have occurred three hundred years earlier).

Robin Hood, former Baron of Locksley, uses his privileged rank to facilitate his leadership of the poor. The nobleman turned outlaw fights against his own Xibalba (the aristocracy of Nottingham) with its own ogre-like Huallallo (the Sherriff of Nottingham) until such time as a just sovereign will return (Richard the Lion Heart), and the poor are treated mercifully. Just as in the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*, the *Ballad of Robin Hood* does not imagine a world without divisions of wealth. But as in the Amerindian epics, *Robin Hood* posits the possibility of a kinder existence than could be found in the typical environment of its time. The Robin Hood legend and its many retellings imagined possibilities of a more livable world. *Robin Hood* did this approximately three centuries after the events described by its anonymous and subversive author(s).

The same pattern characterizes the *PV* and the *HM*. Their authors too did not imagine a world beyond the hierarchical configurations of gods and mortals, princes and commoners, but they *did* imagine a more humane framework within which the hierarchy could function. And for reasons of official censorship, they, like the authors of *Robin Hood*, imagined it anonymously. Anonymous authorship, which all three of these epics share, was the only form of expression available in contexts where questioning abuses meant death. We will never know who actually wrote *Robin Hood*, *Huarochiri*, and the *Popul Vuh*, but their anonymity signals a shared response to despotic government. Oppression is universal, but so is the human response to it. In England, Central America and the Andes, faceless writers gave voice to the idea of a more merciful, though not egalitarian, society.

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<sup>256</sup> Robin Hood, legend or reality, is immortalized in the 1489 ballad collection, *A Lytelle Geste of Robin Hood*.

Paria Caca, the renegade princess Ixqiq, the goddess Cavillaca, and the Hero Twins all belong to the universe's "nobility." They are deities, not humans. Despite combatting other gods who embitter the lives of humanity, and sometimes needing humanity's help, they never renounce their godly status. Like Robin Hood, they oppose those of their ilk (class?) who terrorizes the weak. Their actions pointed towards a conception of a world where unlimited power has been circumscribed by ethical law. The Hugi and Xibalba, not entirely extirpated, are at least permanently debilitated.

The social slant of many of the chapters in the *PV* and the *HM* was a combination of two main factors. The first is the impact of the Spanish colonial regime, with its race-based class-system,<sup>257</sup> during the centuries in which the epics were recorded (16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries). The second is the growing perception on the part of the literate Native American aristocracy, to which Mayan and Andean scribes belonged, that they themselves constituted an underclass within the colonial system. Social positions had been undone by the Conquest. Native Americans had to rethink their manner of relating to their universe, now that the color of their skin defined them as being of "impure blood" in their own countries of origin, and limited their possibilities of economic prosperity. Spanish attitudes towards Muslims and Jews, the first peoples designated by the Spanish Crown as "impure," were transposed easily to the Americas, and Native Americans now joined the ranks of the "tainted,"<sup>258</sup> and were the poorer for it.

Spain did not invent brutality in the Americas, though it certainly did contribute to it. Native Americans leaders were often as arbitrary and unconcerned for the lives of their

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<sup>257</sup> Josep Fradera, Elena Martinez and others emphasize the "consequences which the exportation of the Blood Purity Statutes had on the historic formation of colonial society in Spanish America" (Frada. "Una herencia que nadie reclama: la invencion de las castas" 3).

<sup>258</sup> Charles Mann (*1493*, 387) remarks on the "no-entry" lists to the New World, banning entry for Jews and other religious minorities; they were believed to "stain" the Indians, who themselves were viewed as inferior to whites.



subjects as Europe's were. Late 7<sup>th</sup> century Mayan city-states were devastated by infighting between Tikal and Calakmul; their warfare engulfed each city's respective allies, and led to starvation and societal collapse. Ironically, the 12<sup>th</sup> century flowering of Mayan culture in Yucatan is attributed, in part, to an exodus of political refugees from warring Maya city-states in the Guatemalan highlands.<sup>259</sup> Incan armies committed atrocities in their conquest of Chimor in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century; they were as hungry for Chimor's wealth as Spain would be for theirs. Ecuadorian sites, such as the Inca's fortress at Caranqui, attest to a bellicosity that belies Cuzco's supposed "reciprocity," with the Incas' enemies interred in *Yahuar Cocha* ["Blood Lake" in Quechua].

That being said, the shock and heavy-handedness of Spain's conquests in the Americas threw all Native societies into atrophy. Some recovered and some did not. Those that managed to survive, including Maya and Andeans, could not mechanically reproduce the same cultures they had built before the Conquest. But neither did the Amerindians forget who they were. In a twist of fate, European literacy, the printed word and the book, aided Maya and Andeans in the preservation, adaptation, and renovation of their pre-Conquest traditions. The Conquest paved the way for rethinking, reanalysis, and reinterpretation within Native American societies. During the colonial period, Native American, European and African cultures existed in the Americas in states of "rewriting", the same as the epics themselves. Refashioning was not necessarily a bad thing. As we have seen, Andean and Mayan cultures had little respect for their own or anyone else's gods' original blueprint. The universe needed correcting, a fact the epics screamed. The cyclical thought that pervades the epics needed a new clarification of what

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<sup>259</sup> Mayan city-states, such as Kiwich, had existed in Yucatan by the 5<sup>th</sup> century; but a 9-10<sup>th</sup>-century influx of farmers fleeing their own princes in the Guatemalan highlands in the post-Classic period attests to later fratricide.

was wrong and right in the post-Conquest period. Defining a system of ethics is what Aristotle termed “philosophy,” and it lies at the heart of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh*.

## ***Chapter 4: The teachings and ethics of Huarochiri and the Popul Vuh***

### *4.1 Understanding the concepts and world-view of the narratives*

Jose Yanez del Pozo deems *Huarochiri* to be a “philosophical work” (*Yanantin* 11) in a Western sense. He is right, and his observation can be extended to include the *Popul Vuh*. As in any Western philosophical text, clear conceptions of Right and Wrong battle it out through allegory and example. The absoluteness of Native ethical teachings was as forceful as medieval Europe’s, although the values and morals expressed were often at variance with Western ones. But if philosophy is an attempt to define what constitutes ethical relations, than, as Yanez del Pozo observes, Native American texts are best understood as philosophy. Their goal is the clarification of the moral purpose of life. Both texts are, as we have shown, shamanic, and the goal of the shaman in Amerindian culture is first and foremost the clarification of the use of power, for good. The “witch” is, as Mayan author Victor Montejo illustrates in *Q’anil*, a metaphor for power’s abuse... The witch is, in short, an earlier avatar of the politician.

The protagonists of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* share an identical moral purpose in our real (Middle) world, where myth and belief, to paraphrase Claude Levy-Strauss, are known as politics. The protagonists’ moral purpose is three-fold. The first is to remake the existing social order between gods and gods. Hence the diminishing power of Huallallo and of Xibalba in relation to Paria Caca and the Twins. The second is to remake the network of social relations between gods and humans: the abolition of sacrifice. New political and social orders are

possible with the defeat of Huallallo and the Lords of Xibalba. Once the metaphysical order has been transformed, the third element, the relations between human beings, can be remade. As above, so below. The gods' sphere must be tidied up so that it serves as a fitting mirror for humans. Hierarchies are not abolished, but they are significantly reformed.

In a new order where Aztec-style debts to the gods, propitiated only by human sacrifice, do not exist, what Mexican archaeologist Luis Barjau refers to as Europe's variant of human sacrifice, immolating the "non-believer" in the auto-da-fé, or the religious war, was also nullified. The bloody priests of Huallallo and Xibalba, and Europe's Inquisitions, would lack any basis to terrorize society. This is tantamount to the three Abrahamic religions abolishing their particular brands of human sacrifice: final judgment, holy war, and exclusive salvation. Questioning terror-based practices, whether heretic burnings or obsidian knives, leads to questioning the social norms established in their name. If human conceptions of Deity/deities can be more merciful, then human society which mirrors the gods can reflect that compassion.

When relations between people are redefined, marginalized archetypes such as beggars are no longer excoriated. The narratives of the *PV* and the *HM* discredit the older, socially exclusionary religious vision. In the new vision, the supernatural heroes of the *PV* and the *HM* assume the beggar's disguise as a theatrical mirror of human society. The shaman assumes the mask, so that he may be illuminated by the essence of the being which he evokes through his disguise. Since these gods are redefined by kindness towards the marginalized, they identify more readily with beggars than with nobles, as did the mythical or real *Robin Hood* in England's literature, and as did other outlaws, named Robin Hood, or not, during the High Middle Ages in Sherwood Forest.

#### 4.2 Theatrical illusion and the beggar's disguise

Hunahpu and Ixbalamque relish their victory on the ball courts of Xibalba, knowing that revenge is theirs for beating the Xibalbans at their own game. Ball games in Mayan culture were very weighty business. Late Classic period Mayan culture (600-900 ACE) utilized the ball game to consecrate the individual victories of their different kings, but its origins predated the Maya culture, and predated their kings.<sup>260</sup> In the *PV* the Twins' triumph on the playing field is the first step in depriving the Xibalbans of their kingly pretensions. The Twins' win is subversive in the extreme, for they are defrocking gods and dethroning kings while they compete.

Art historian Linda Schele paralleled the Mayan ball-game and the dualistic representations of Venus as morning and evening star. She saw the bouncing ball as a simultaneous mimesis of night and day. The hard latex ball metonymically represented Venus, morning and evening star, passing through the stone hoops of the ball courts. "An average of eight days after disappearing, or about four days after an inferior conjunction with the sun, Venus reappears as a morning star...perhaps symbolically reborn from the fire. This closely parallels the reappearance of the Hero Twins, who appeared as fish-men five days after their immolation" (Grofe. "The Recipe for Rebirth: Cacao as Fish in the Mythology and Symbolism of the Ancient Maya" 52-53). Archaeologist Jesus Galindo notes that the Venus motif continued well into the late Post-Classic period, with the 15<sup>th</sup> century buildings of Mayapan in Yucatan oriented so as to mark the transits of Venus vis-à-vis the sun. Venus dies each night to be reborn with the dawn, as the Twins do, and as all living beings do in the Mayan universe.

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<sup>260</sup> Allen Christenson, (p. 154, note 378) dates the origins of the ballgame to the Olmec period, 1500 BC.

Unlike the Aztecs, the Maya harbored no fear of eclipses.<sup>261</sup> Mayan scribes predicted eclipses rather than lamenting them, and saw them as a repeating cyclic phenomenon, not as a potential apocalypse.<sup>262</sup> True to the nature of the contumacious Maya universe, the sun and moon argued frequently, and their unresolved periodic disputes led to recurring eclipses.<sup>263</sup> Chorti Mayan people point to an angry deity, Ah Cilis, who takes a bite out of the sun when he is piqued, and so we have *chibil kin*, literally, “biting the sun”<sup>264</sup>; its correlate in the *tit for tat* Mayan firmament was and is *chibil u*: “biting the moon,” of course.

In Mayan thought the sun was never permanently extinguished, and neither are Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. Their narrative process evokes shamanic transformation. The Twins re-order their energies and are reborn, alternating as day and evening lights. Together they form the construction of Venus, double-faced morning and evening star. Double faced, two faced, duplicitous: Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque do not always find lying to be a bad thing. Theatrical garb in their case constitutes an exquisite lie, and for good cause.

Their fathers had trusted the intentions of the Xibalbans, which led to their demise. “Thus they were lost. They were broken as well” (*PV* Christenson 113). In contrast, the Twins taunt, tease, and fabricate, even when they undergo self-immolation. “ ‘You cannot trick us with this. Do we not already know the means of our death, o lords? You shall surely see it,’ they said ” (*PV* Christenson 168). At this juncture, the Xibalbans are convinced that they have

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<sup>261</sup> Andean cultures also did not dread eclipses, either because they were more concerned with aquatic deities, as were the Nazca, the Moche, and the peoples of Huarochiri, or because, like the Inca, they were convinced of the Sun’s eternity as the source of their own power, and did not believe that the Sun-god Inti would ever expire.

<sup>262</sup> The *Dresden Codex* from 12<sup>th</sup> century Yucatan gives ample illustration of eclipse cycles and repetitive calculations; mathematics was frequently adjusted so as to “fit” the eclipse cycles into the Mayan calendar.

<sup>263</sup> J. Eric S. Thompson’s version of the *Codice Dresde* 187.

<sup>264</sup> Thompson 187.

vanquished the Twins' rebellion, being as Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque have displayed none of the gumption and defiance before the sacrificial pyre which they flaunted during the ball games. "Then they turned to face one another, spread out their arms and together they went into the pit oven. Thus both of them died there" (*PV* Christenson 168). But by embracing death, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque enter the next phase consciously, and can design their own resurrection. Such an attitude is reflected in modern-day North American indigenous practice, in which the spirits of a disease are requested to aid in finding its cure.<sup>265</sup> In shamanic thought in the Andes and Central America, by consciously choosing the time to die, not by suicide but by accepting Nature's course, one passes over to the other side unhindered, and enjoys what is termed in the Andes "a good death." Death in the *Popul Vuh* recalls the Burning Bush in the story of Moses,<sup>266</sup> which illuminates but does not consume the object of its heat.<sup>267</sup>

The Twins possess a weapon more illuminating than fire among their theatrical props: their beggars' disguises. What the Xibalbans don't know is that the Twins' performance is a prelude to a wider re-enactment of the cosmic cycle in which death, though not abolished, will be humbled. Neither can the Xibalbans imagine, because the narrative impedes them from doing so, that the Twins will be resurrected on the fifth day, as roguish but seductive "beggars." The Xibalbans send two messengers to the Twins, called appropriately and dualistically Descended and Ascended (*PV* Christenson 168) informing them of their sacrificial fate. The cosmic pair waste no time remonstrating. Instead, they act the role of the willing sacrifices, knowing that their demise will culminate in rebirth.

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<sup>265</sup> This is particularly so among Cherokee and Cree healers, who believe that a disease teaches lessons, and once the lessons are learned, the disease may depart. (Personal observation/Cherokee healing ceremonies: 2013-2014)

<sup>266</sup> In the Book of Exodus, the metaphor of the fire that does not destroy is tantamount to purification.

<sup>267</sup> Exodus III, 2: "...and behold, the thorn bush was burning with fire, but the thorn bush was not consumed."

They even cajole the Xibalban messengers into a post-mortem collaboration, and the latter transmit the Twins' instructions regarding what the Xibalbans should do with their remains: “ ‘If then you are asked this, you will reply, ‘It is good that they should die. And it would be good if their bones were ground upon the face of a stone like finely ground maize flour. Each one of them should be ground separately. Then these should be scattered there in the course of the river. They should be sprinkled on the river that winds among the small and great mountains’ ” (PV Christenson 167).

Once their bones have been sprinkled on the waters/life source, the restorative liquid works its miracles. Hunahpu and Ixbalamque are resurrected with a novel series of spiritual costumes. First they materialize as catfish. Then they become itinerant performers, natural actors disguised as professional ones. “On the *fifth* day [*italics mine*] they appeared again. People saw them in the river, for the two of them appeared like people-fish. Now when their faces were seen by the Xibalbans, they made a search for them in the river” (PV Christenson 169). As in the *HM*, the number five marks a new cycle. For the Maya, five was a banner element of their mathematics, marking the core of their base-twenty counting system. Five was indispensable in the commencement of new “series”: of life, of death, of the entire cycle of time. As David Stuart remarks in *The Order of Days* (153), the base-twenty system is itself tied in with “the human body, with its twenty digits.” Broken down into their four units of five apiece, the human body, with its twenty fingers and toes, reappears anew with each of the Twins' adventures.

The connection between beggars and fish-men is clarified further by James Fitzsimmons: “The Hero Twins of the Popul Vuh, having died themselves, rise from the waters as ignoble beggars and transform into heavenly bodies. This idea of finery and change seems

integral to the escape from the Underworld; that the Classic examples demonstrate a change of dress and god-like qualities suggests that some individuals have escaped, or will escape, the Underworld to another location” (*Death and the Maya Kings* 53). Water, with its constant mutations, provides the means and the disguises whereby one can flee Xibalba. Changing the physical image eases the transition to another life, and Shakespeare’s axiom that “clothes make the man” applies to gods as well.

The prevalence of the Twins’ watery nature over the Xibalbans’ fire evokes Paria Caca’s red and yellow rain, drenching Huallallo’s flames. Both epics encompass a time-line that extends from Creation, when water is Flood, to a later evolution in which water and fire are endowed with conflicting moral associations. In the *Popul Vuh* Creation unfolds within the waters, a source which is neither good nor bad. Its marine energies are personified by dual progenitors, Tepeuh and Gukumatz, and mediated by the force of Hurricane, Heart of Sky. “Then came his word. Heart of Sky arrived here with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent in the darkness, in the night. He spoke with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent. They talked together then. They thought and they pondered” (*PV* Christenson 59).

These deities cum natural forces unify sky and water, feather and serpent,<sup>268</sup> in a divine preamble to the rain cycles. Clouds turn to rain and vapor rises from the ground to become clouds. Interface between sky and water is always present, and the point of interface between sky and water is our earth. In the *PV*, earth emerges from the tempestuous Heart of the Sky/Hurricane. “Beneath the light, they gave birth to humanity. Then they arranged for the germination and creation of the trees and the bushes, the germination of all life and creation, in

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<sup>268</sup> Outstanding examples of the mixed-element natural motifs are to be found in the Robicsek Collection of Mayan Art, Museum of the Mint, Charlotte, North Carolina. An example from Classic Period (200-900 ACE) Guatemala shows Hunahpu’s human face adorned with delicate catfish fins and whiskers (Field research 2012).



the darkness and in the night, by Heart of Sky, who is called *Huracan*” (PV Christenson 60). Heart of the Sky, “Hurricane,” presides over the doings on all planes: earth, sea, and sky. So it stands to reason that Hunahpu and Ixbalamque should be reborn, first as fish (water) then as indigent entertainers (earth), and finally as the sun and moon (sky), in this way replicating the same structure which the *Popul Vuh* lays out in its creation myth.

The Twins spring forth from the life-engendering waters after the crucial five-day period, as “fish-men,” a moniker which calls to mind the odd moustache of the catfish’s face in its referencing. *Winaq qar*, literally “person fish” in Quiche Mayan, is the term used for the Twins at this point. Not surprisingly, images of fishes with human heads have graced Mayan art from the Classic Period onwards.<sup>269</sup> Verbally and visually, Mayan conceptions of life-forms, with porous overlap of animal, human, god and scenery, are encapsulated in the rebirth manifestation of the Twins as “fish-men.”

In Mayan art from the Classic Period, the motif of the hummingbird on the water-lily likewise combines the elements of sea (water), earth (flower) and air (bird), the same way as a flying, feathered serpent that arises from the waters does in the Creation segment of the *Popul Vuh*. The synthesis of hummingbird, lily and water<sup>270</sup> enshrine air, earth and sea. The three elements fuse, blossoming, dying, and depending upon each other for sustenance. But in terms of fusion, the Twins’ metamorphosis into fish-men becomes something of a shamanic joke.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Grofe, (37) provides many details about images of the Twins-Fish-Men in Mayan art from 200-900 ACE.

<sup>270</sup> Re: Denver Art Museum, Colorado: 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Pre-Columbian galleries, (Personal visit 2010).

<sup>271</sup> The Museum of Anthropology in Lima, Peru, exhibits other versions of this shamanic joke among the art of the Moche, whose period (100-700 ACE) makes them contemporary with the Classic Maya. Human beings turned birds figure prominently in Moche sculptures, engaging in human activities such as music-making while retaining disconcertingly human features in an avian face. The human/avian energy has not yet been correctly reassembled, and the form strikes the non-Moche spectator as deviant, monstrous, or, if the spectator is familiarized with Andean shamanism, highly amusing.

The energy which animates all beings is reassembled, but *not quite*: some fishlike elements still conspicuously adorn their human faces. Similar details, of perfect and imperfect transformations, are portrayed humorously in centuries of Mayan art reaching back to the pre-Classic period. Stela 5 from Izapa, Guatemala (300 BCE) commemorates the Fish-Men: “A similar pair of fish nibbles on fruit or seeds hanging from the arm of the bird figure to the left of the tree. These two fish rise directly from the river that emerges from a smoking incense burner...this image recalls the fish transformation of the Twins in the *Popul Vuh*” (Grofe 21).

The philosophy of Amerindian shamanism is, I believe, intrinsic to the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. In that system of thought, exclusionary and impossible characteristics, such as fishlike fins on human faces, point to midway points of physical/spiritual evolution. Caught in transition, the soul-essence, the energy, looks monstrous, a supernatural hybrid. When Paria Caca hatches from an egg in five distinct manifestations, is he a bird becoming a man, a man-like bird, or both? Fish, man, woman or bird, the Mayan and Andean (non-Incan) world does not draw boundaries between multiple manifestations of the same life-force, an ideal which Amerindian shamanism shares with Hinduism.<sup>272</sup> Not all Amerindian peoples shared the ideal: the Incas believed their rulers’ bodies were perfect, as did Aztecs and Europeans, so changing oneself into a jaguar, as Mayan princes did, according to the *PV*, would have been undignified. And the emperors of Cuzco reputedly used Chachapoya magicians as shape-changers, for Incas had no desire to change their shape at all.

#### 4.3 Shamanic Transformation in the Real World: Changing Political Structures

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<sup>272</sup> In Hindu epics such as the *Ramayana*, the Monkey King plays an important role; humans, gods and animals are interchangeable. All matter is viewed as illusion, designated by the Sanskrit word-coincidentally-*Maya*.

The Twins' aquatic rebirth testifies to an evolution which occurred in Mayan thought between the end of the Late Classic period (10<sup>th</sup> century), during which the legends of the *PV* had already taken shape, and the late Post Classic period (mid 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries). In the latter time, the Maya abandoned many of their urban centers due to social upheaval. The flight of Mayan masses from Guatemalan highlands to Yucatec lowlands, and between neighboring city states in both regions, disempowered their theocracy, which depended upon the large ceremonial centers, and the tribute which the Maya common folk brought to them there.

Faced by factors as diverse as over-population, drought, and an ever-more unpopular theocratic establishment, the Maya reverted from theocracy to village based confederations, led by chiefs, not priests. This was the form of political organization that the Spanish encountered in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The large ceremonial plazas and their attendant sacrificial priests were replaced in the Post-Classic period by the *hmen*, community guardians, who did not demand human blood. The Classic Maya conception of life and death evolved, regional loyalty to princes giving way to contentious and often anti-authoritarian post-Classic (900-1518) unrest. This new configuration of Mayan society enabled the Hero Twins to flout the commands of their Xibalban hosts, (narratively). In a political sense, this new outlook enabled the Maya to oppose Aztec domination for two centuries and Hispanic colonization for five.

Political changes were reflected in Mayan art and thought regarding life, death, and rebirth. The Mayas' "jewel-bedecked paradise," described by Karl Taube with "floating or falling flowers" ("Flower Mountain..." 78), stands in contrast to the gloominess of the Aztecs' Mictlan. With none of the direness of the Hell of Bosch, or the ugly Nahua afterlife,<sup>273</sup> the Mayas' flowered jewel-mountain offered respite for the soul. Lacking the terror of Xibalba, the

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<sup>273</sup> The only exceptions to the ephemeral nature of Aztec Mictlan were male warriors and women who died in childbirth, the only subjects deemed worthy of a more eternal existence. Other souls disintegrated over time.

jewel-land is the Paradise whose belief was adopted by the Maya in the post-Classic (c.900 ACE onwards) when they were no longer subject to their own theocracies. Belief in this paradise survives in Central America, outlasting the concept of Heaven, eternal Hell, and dire Mictlan brought by Spanish and Protestant missionaries, and earlier by Aztec traders and spies.

Taube affirms that, in Mayan art, Hunahpu and Ixbalamque are the guardians of the exquisite floral mountain of eternity (“Flower Mountain” 84). The Twins embody the cyclical eternity which transcends Xibalba’s tortures. Xibalba itself personified an ugly stage of the afterlife, but it was not a definitive destiny as was the medieval Hell, or the Aztecs’ Mictlan. James Fitzsimmons observes how Aztec and Maya afterlives reflected their civilizations’ differing mindsets: “Likewise, the Aztec situation probably does not apply: the ‘good death’ for the Aztecs involved warriors, women who died in childbirth, drowning victims, and other notables going to different places. By contrast, the afterlife in the Maya area, Classic and beyond, seems to be one of tests and successful navigations through the Underworld” (*Death and the Maya Kings* 59). The Twins (and their mother Ixq’iq) navigated the infernal routes thanks to their intelligence. Unlike Aztec or Judgment Day finality, the Mayan Underworld can be left behind. Mayan visions jibes well with the Andean afterlife, viewed by non-Inca peoples as a gentler repetition of life on earth, but one still requiring productive labor and intelligence.<sup>274</sup>

The Twins’ triumph and their rebirth as fish-men, jesters and actors presage a model of behavior based on defiance. Because of this, the “place of fear” (literally, *Xibalba*) is derided and mocked. Once freed of their fish-bodies, the Twins present themselves in rags, playing, as Paria Caca does, with social conventions of finery and honor. Rags are the Twins’ armor. “And

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<sup>274</sup> A Colla legend from the Bolivian highlands illustrates this: when a fisherman from Titicaca is reunited with his loved ones in the Beyond, he finds them happily working, busy and productive but no longer vassals to the Inca.

on the very next day, they appeared again as two poor orphans. They wore rags in front and rags on their backs. Rags were thus all they had to cover themselves” (*PV* Christenson 169).

Looking as though they rose from a scrap-heap, which they metaphorically did, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque assume the guises of itinerant performers. They live by their wits, dramatizing the fate of the marginalized: bedraggled actors with no home, and no kinship network. The Twins pretend not to either know their own names or genealogy, unthinkable in Mayan lineage-based society, and their feigned ignorance makes them unrecognizable to their former executioners, the Xibalbans. “Then they were asked where their home mountain was and who their people were. They were also asked about their mother and their father: ‘Where do you come from?’ they were asked. ‘We do not know, o lord. Neither do we know the faces of our mother or our father. We were still small when they died,’ they just said” (*PV* Christenson 171). The Xibalbans delight in the Twins’ antics since, like Cavillaca before the similarly costumed Conirraya in the *HM*, the Lords cannot conceive of grandeur concealed in dirty clothes.<sup>275</sup> “But they did not act according to their appearance when they were seen by the Xibalbans. For they did the dance of the Whippoorwill and the dance of the Weasel. They danced the Armadillo and the Centipede. They danced the Injury, for many marvels they did then. They set fire to a house as if it were truly burning, then immediately recreated it again as the Xibalbans watched with admiration” (*PV* Christenson 169).

The Centipede-dance performed by the Twins reminded the Mayan reader/spectator that escape from Below was imminent: Classic period Mayan art represents “the centipede jaws of the underworld” (Looper 182) opening towards the apotheosis of the spirit. The 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Lagos and Galdamez (“Entimemas y principios andinos en los mitos de Huarochiri” 8) mention that the tacit assumption in the Cavillaca-Conirraya mismatch is that all members of the community should help the poor: this is why Conirraya disguises himself as a pauper for Cavillaca, and her reaction is a typical one of the Andean (any) elite. She flees the presence of the poor, just as the rich do today, from inner-city slums to suburban favelas.

century Palenque sarcophagus of King Pakal I is adorned with the centipede motif as well, as a portal to and from the lower regions, where princes and beggars go to and fro.

Poverty in the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* constitutes a protective cloak of anonymity, and it allows the Twins' sarcasm and vindictive entertainment to unfold without arousing the suspicions of its intended victims, the Lords. Shielded by the rags of the rootless poor, the Twins cavort as clowns. No one suspects the poor vagabonds of the capability to slaughter the Lords. They thrill their Xibalban audience while they entrap them, and enter in and out of multiple identities while maintaining the enigma of their origin. Their costumes allow them to balance all facets of existence, human, animal and thing, while they prepare for their apocalypse with Evil.

Conflation of anonymity with poverty occurs in cultures like the Maya, or our own, where status and wealth confer public identity and fame. We have seen earlier in the *Popul Vuh* how the Twins unnerved the Xibalbans when they first met them, by sending the mosquito Sam (the hair on Hunahpu's cheek), to bite their unidentified Majesties. When that ruse obliged each of the Xibalbans to exclaim the other's name, the lords were unmasked before Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque, and the Underworld farce began to unravel. The Xibalbans are from that point on a known quantity.

Now knowing them quite well, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque spit in the faces of their executioners. Since they see who wields the axe, they can snatch it for themselves. Unlike the condemned man on the chopping block who never sees the face of his decapitator, the Twins have stopped playing by the rules long ago. These actors devise their own games, lulling their Xibalban audience into spectator-passivity while they re-write the play. "Then again they sacrificed themselves. One of them would die, surely throwing himself down in death. Then

having been killed, he would immediately be revived. And the Xibalbans simply watched them while they did it. Now all of this was merely the groundwork for the defeat of the Xibalbans at their hands” (PV Christenson 169).

Rewriting unpleasant scripts was a Mayan cultural pastime. Like their cousins, the Cakchiquel Mayas, the Twins disparage the authority that attempts to terrify them. When the thirteen<sup>276</sup> principal Mayan princes of the Cakchiquels went forth from the mythical Tulan, they were met by a string of animal spirits who prophesized their doom. But the Cakchiquels scoffed at the animal messengers and denied them the oracular function which Mesoamerican tradition usually assigns to them: “Then another animal called *Tukur*,<sup>277</sup> who had perched on the top of a red tree, began to sing, and he spoke to us also saying, ‘I am your oracle’.-‘You are not our oracle, as you pretend,’ we replied to this owl” (Recinos, Goetz and Chonay. *Annals of the Cakchiquels and Title of the Lords of Totonacapan* 54). Oedipus suffers for being unable to escape his prophesied fate; Jonah cannot flee the prophecy that God has commanded him to transmit to Nineveh; but Cakchiquels deny the legitimacy of their oracles, and leave the owl hooting to itself.

As long as they function as “performers” the Twins conceal their names before the Xibalban audience, since, if they cannot be named, they cannot be suspected, identified, or most crucially, caught. They can thus commit their crime and extract their revenge, while the unsuspecting Sacrificers marvel at the acrobatics of the two “beggars,” who grovel to their

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<sup>276</sup> The number 13 corresponds to the levels of the Mayan celestial afterlife, the flowered sky, *Kan*, described by researchers such as Taube and Fitzsimmons. Its frequency in Mayan literature is not arbitrary as it reflects Venus, whose cycles were tracked by the Maya in their astronomical tables: the earth/Venus correspondence, five Venus years equaling earth human years (5 X 8 =13) in Yucatec Mayan tradition.

<sup>277</sup> The appearance of the *tukur* owl, the same type of owl with which Ixqiq had to contend, in *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*, is meaningful: This late 16<sup>th</sup> century *Cakchiquels*, from the village of Solola in Guatemala, corroborates the place of the *tukur* as a doom-laden messenger from the Underworld. Later, as his ineffectiveness in the *Annals* proves, (not to mention his subsequent collaboration with Ixqiq in the *Popul Vuh*), this bird is far from being Xibalba’s most loyal servant.

patrons, lured by the Twins feigned self-effacement: “We would be ashamed to enter into such a lordly house! Our faces are truly ugly and our eyes are just wide in poverty. Don’t they see that we are merely dancers? What then would we say to our fellow orphans? We have responsibilities...” (*PV* Christenson 170).

The narrative paints a scathing portrait of the Maya nobility, the aristocrats who are pampered adults-cum-children. “Now the lords rejoiced greatly. One Death and Seven Death rejoiced as if they were the ones doing it. They were so involved that it was as if they themselves were dancing” (*PV* Christenson 173). Thanks to the Beggars’ anonymity, the Xibalbans have no clue as to who is plunging in the entertaining knives. So the Twins simulate (to our eyes) or enact (to the Xibalbans’ eyes) the sacrifice of a dog, while the underworld public squeals with delight, children at a circus. The canine too squeals with delight when the Twins bring *him* back to life. “Then the lord spoke to them: ‘Sacrifice my dog, then revive him again,’ they were told. ‘All right,’ they replied. So they sacrificed his dog and then revived him once more. The dog was truly happy when they revived him. He vigorously wagged his tale when they brought him back to life” (*PV* Christenson 172).

This scene may be a historical reference to the substitution of human sacrifice with dog sacrifice by the post-Classic Maya, a process substantiated by anthropologist Mercedes de la Garza. Piqued by the unaccustomed spectacle of Death vanquished by Life, by the living dog, the Xibalbans demand that the Twins perform the same stunt on each other. “So then they sacrificed themselves. Hunahpu was sacrificed by Ixbalaamque. Each of his legs and arms were severed. His head was cut off and placed far away. His heart was placed on a leaf. Now all these lords of Xibalba were drunk at the sight, as Ixbalaamque went on dancing. ‘Arise!’ he



[Ixbalaamque] said, and immediately he [Hunahpu] was brought back to life again” (*PV* Christenson 173).

In ancient Rome, gladiators fought each other to the end. They were sacrificed onstage, a theatrical and real death, for the amusement of the aristocracy. The Xibalbans order the same horrific masque, hinting that the *Popul Vuh* retains a cultural memory of the Classic Period Mayan aristocracy, no less hedonistic than the Roman. The anger of the Mayan rank and file against their squabbling nobility was a factor in the defacement of their royal monuments, particularly during chaotic “inter-regnum” periods without clear demarcations of authority.<sup>278</sup> It is plausible that anger at that same nobility would color post-Classic Mayan literature as well.

For an aristocracy to endure, the poor must submit to degradation at the hands of those in power. So it would seem that Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque assent to the Xibalbans’ wishes, propelling the farce along to the point of self-sacrifice. They turn theater into life and fulfill momentarily, superficially, the Lords’ expectations of their impoverished subjects. What higher honor could there be than immolating oneself for the aggrandizement of a prince? That could only be surpassed by the honor of immolating the prince himself, which will follow.

The Xibalbans do not know (because they do not know the performers’ names) that the two ragged minstrels have already been to Hell and back. Hunahpu in particular is no stranger to sacrifice and dismemberment: as we know, he had already lost an arm,<sup>279</sup> and a head, and was repeatedly dismembered and reassembled by his vigilant younger brother in the course of

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<sup>278</sup> Fitzsimmons, 176-78, suggests defacement as an expression of rage during the inter-regnum periods in Tikal and Piedras Negras. Monument defacements were frequent occurrences in Mayab throughout the Classic Period.

<sup>279</sup> The custom of hanging up an enemy’s arm as a trophy was common among the Anglo Saxons of England’s Dark Ages, and also among the Norse Vikings. Rather than seek for non-existent historical connections, the logic is self-evident: maiming the warrior definitively meant striking off his arm, neutralizing his ability to attack and defend.

their theatrics. Outfitted as the sacrificial priest on the Xibalban stage, Ixbalaamque is the wizard who revives the dead and reattaches severed limbs. He does this impeccably with his older brother Hunahpu, but he will not do the Xibalbans the same favor.

Hunahpu's resurrection so enthralls the Xibalbans that they long to cross the boundary between art and life and, uncomprehending, they plead with the unkempt performers to incorporate them, the Xibalbans, into the bloody spectacle. " 'Sacrifice us in the same way,' said One Death and Seven Death to Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque. 'Very well then. Surely you will be revived. Are you not death? For we are here to gladden you, O lords, along with your vassals and your servants' ....'" (*PV* Christenson 174). The Lords trust in their immortality, but the Twins will subject one of them to Death by sacrifice, with no possibility of rebirth.

In the literary canon of Latin America, this scene is a supreme parody of pride before the proverbial fall. Only the stupidest nobleman would deliver over the obsidian knife to his subject, even for an instant. Yet this is exactly what the Xibalbans do. Seen from the perspective of the haughty Lords, the "beggars" are harmless. Aristocrats expect a cooperative victim, a victim who will not use a weapon in revenge when it is offered to him in play. The Xibalbans behave in a way that any post-Classic Maya would recognize as the discredited Classic Period Mayan theocracy, or the newer Spanish overlord. The supernatural text is a social testament.

As in the Andes, the wandering beggar with no kin to support him occupied the lowest rung in traditional Mayan society. Marginalization is underscored by the Twins' insistence that they have no notion of their families or origin, a "fact" which assures that the Lords will not attribute any seditious impulses to them. As the indigent poor, they are utterly disempowered: "At length they arrived before the lords. They pretended to be humble, prostrating themselves

when they came. They humbled themselves, stooping over and bowing. They hid themselves with rags, giving the appearance that they were just poor orphans when they arrived” (PV Christenson 171).

Their mother being the rebellious Ixqiq, **the Twins are in part the grandchildren of the Lords of Xibalba.** The familial irony increases: what the Lords see as beggars, as disposable refuse, are actually rebellious manifestations of their own lineage. In this case, as with Ixqiq, water is thicker than blood. Emulating Ixqiq’s example, the Twins carry the magical traits of Xibalba within themselves, but owe no loyalty to the Xibalbans. Xibalban in magical ability but not in world-view, the Beggars direct their murderous stage artifice at the spectators. Obedient to their whims, Hunahpu and Ixbalamque sacrifice their public, in accordance with the public’s commands. “So they grabbed a person and sacrificed him. They extracted the heart of one of them and placed it before the lords. Now One Death and Seven Death marveled at this, for immediately that person was revived again by them [the Twins]. When he had been revived, his heart greatly rejoiced” (PV Christenson 173).

Inspired, the Lords beseech the Beggars to sacrifice them but also revive them, and the Twins’ fake compliance highlights the sarcasm of their performance. To the end, the Xibalbans remain unaware that the stage conceals a battleground. “The first to be sacrificed was the very head of all the lords, One Death by name, the lord of Xibalba. He was dead then, this One Death. Next they grabbed Seven Death. *But they didn’t revive them*” (PV Christenson 174). [Italics mine]. The identity and naming of the Xibalban subjects, One and Seven Death, again echoes the names of the Twins’ fathers, One and Seven Hunahpu. Parallel vengeance is now on the way.

Something goes awry when the Twins enact the sacrificial trick on the Lords. At last made vulnerable, the Lords notice the irregularity. “Thus the Xibalbans took to their heels when they saw that the lords had died. Their hearts were now taken from their chests. Both of them had been torn open as punishment for what they [One and Seven Death] had done. Straightaway the one lord was executed *and not revived*” (PV Christenson 174). [Italics mine]. Dryly and with no epic gesture at all, the Twins leave the Lord for dead, exploding the paradigm of the willing, self-abnegating Mesoamerican victim. Here, the victim returns to punish his executioner. The *Popul Vuh* silences the Sacrificers, and the once-muted voice of the victim speaks.

The no longer muted voice of the sacrificial victim may extract revenge, as in the *Popul Vuh*, or it may protest the injustice of the act itself, as does the father of the intended child-victim in the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. In both texts, acquiescence is shattered. The victim/object becomes a protagonist/subject, no longer the dehumanized abstraction whose fate is to die unquestioned. The roles of executioner and executed are turned on their heads by the Twins, and the theatrical pageant is up-ended.

At the juncture when Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque leave the Lords for dead, the non-Amerindian reader may be struck by the sparseness of the text. There are no grandiloquent gestures, no flaming “St. Crispin’s Day” speeches, and no attempt to translate the subversive actions poetically into the realm of speech. Words cannot encompass the magnitude of the gesture that we have just read, and that the Mayan spectators of the Twins’ legends once witnessed on the physical and ritual stage. Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque and as we will see, Paria Caca, are silent in the moments of their respective world-turnings, their *pachacutis*. In a moral breaking point, speech is superfluous. Deciding whether life is lived with fear of the gods, or

with joy, is one such moral breaking point. The decision must be translated into action, not proclaimed. Within the Western tradition, the most fitting reminder of the Twins' triumph would not be the "St. Crispin's Day" speech, but a lesser known quote, also from Shakespeare: "Where words are scarce, they're seldom spent in vain" (*Richard II*, Act I, Scene I).

#### 4.4 *Beggars and Disguises in Andean Villages-the Price of Selfishness*

Paria Caca also favors the beggar's disguise, donning it repeatedly in *Huarochiri*, in Chapters 6, 25, and 26. In order to impersonate a beggar, or to fight Huallallo, the god Paria Caca must partake of human nature too: "Once Paria Caca had become human and was full-grown, he began to search for his enemy. His enemy's name was Huallallo Carhuinchu, the Man Eater, the Man Drinker" (*HM* 6, 61). Paria Caca's human and divine natures are co-terminous. He walks among us, in mortal and divine and also scenic form (the bifurcated mountain of the Lurin valley) depending upon the circumstance.

The Twins interrupt the theatrical romp of the Lords, by stepping outside of their pre-assigned roles as humble beggars; Paria Caca, similarly, subverts another theatrical romp-the village celebration by arriving in unrecognizable regalia, deceptively human. The five-fold god dons the mask of the uninvited visitor, and his artifice of poverty contrasts with the excesses of the village party-goers. "In the valley that lies below Huarochiri there was once a village named Huaqui Usa, a village of the Yunca. On that occasion the villagers were celebrating an important festival. They drank, and drank hard" (*HM* 6, 61).

The Twins became actors who undermined the scripted plot, and as sons of the renegade princess of Xibalba, the Twins and their opponents are equally supernatural. But whereas the *Popul Vuh* is enacted before vile deities, Paria Caca acts the role of the

impoverished wanderer before an entirely **human** audience. The Andean hero discovers, as he does with the man of Quinti (*HM* 17, 95) that human beings confound and irritate more than gods. Whereas the Twins undo the Lords by employing Xibalba's Divine trickery for a better purpose, Paria Caca's godliness is sometimes impotent against the snares of human beings. The god cannot employ human trickery to rectify human wrongs, as the supernatural Twins do with the supernatural denizens of Xibalba. And even magical spells do not alter human greed and stinginess.

Nonetheless, the fact that Paria Caca periodically humanizes himself is what allows him to confront his adversaries in the human Middle World: "When Paria Caca was already a full-grown person, he went to Huallallo Carhuincho's dwelling, to the place called Upper Paria Caca" (*HM* 6, 61). The Andean god who assumed the role of the orphaned alms-seeker, the *huakcha*,<sup>280</sup> experienced the full ugliness of human behavior: "One day Paria Caca arrived in Yaru Tini, their village, while the Colli were drinking. Taking a seat at the far end of the banquet, Paria Caca sat there like a poor miserable stranger. Not a single person was willing to offer him a drink. Only one man finally invited him to drink" (*HM* 25, 125). Humanization enables the god to undergo what the most marginalized and shunned human being, in Andean terms, the *huakcha*, endures.

Experiencing suffering in mortal skin, Paria Caca verifies the extent to which the rootless poor are scorned, and on the basis of his human travails, Paria Caca creates an ethical paradigm for Andean society. It stresses generosity and mutual aid, and punishes conspicuous excess. Although the new paradigm cannot be considered a negation of class differences, it does stress common origin above societal rank, implying some idea of a human family: "His

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<sup>280</sup> Father James Regan, researcher in Peruvian Amazonian mythology, notes that the little parrot that stole fire from an Inca princess to bring warmth to his forest-dwelling people, is also called a *huakcha* (Conference in the Ricardo Palma House, Lima, August 2010). The status of "orphan hood" does not exclude protagonism and revolt.

law was one and the same law in all the villages. The law we speak of was this: *we are all of one birth* (tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic)” (MH 9, 71).

*Huarochiri* opens a door to a porous universe where gods and humans transform into each other depending upon the moral need of the situation. Why must Paria Caca periodically humanize himself? He does so because, if the god appeared *as a god* before the Andean villagers and ordered them to aid the poor, they would do so more out of fear than out of conviction.<sup>281</sup> In this way, *Huarochiri* explores in an empiric sense the root cause of human motives, as human cupidity can be best revealed when the deity’s authentic nature is concealed. By the same token, human beings can be more generous than gods. They can demonstrate that generosity most sincerely when Paria Caca is disguised as one of them, because his godlike aura is hidden and does not inform their motives in that situation. “But that one man who’d given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he’d been told, and was spared. When Paria Caca was finished sweeping everything away, he said to him, Brother, now you’re alone by yourself. You must stay here forever. Later, when my children come to worship me from this spot, a quartet of guest *huacsas* will provide coca leaf for you to chew in perpetuity” (HM 25, 125).

In Christianity God partakes of human nature (Jesus as Son and element of the Trinity) but human beings cannot merge with the Divine. In Judaism and Islam, God may reveal Himself directly to enlightened followers, but, as with Christianity, there is an unbridgeable gulf between human and celestial worlds. Closer to Hinduism, divinity and mortality are both, in *Huarochiri*, avatars through which any being may pass, provided that they uphold their obligations within the matrix of the avatar, human, god or *huaca*, in which they find

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<sup>281</sup> Sephardic Jewish and Islamic legends of King Solomon tell of the sovereign disguising himself as a beggar and going about his realm in order to ascertain how well, or how badly, his subjects complied with the Scriptural teachings of charity and aid to the poor. Undercover detectives today favor a similar method.

themselves at the moment. “Andean justice is not blind justice. It takes into account the specific place that a certain element occupies, within the framework of cosmic relational being” (*Yanantin* 43) [My translation]. By “Andean” we refer to the non-Incan inhabitants of Huarochiri; Incan justice was much blinder. As with Spanish evangelism, Inca “reciprocity” was bolstered by the implicit threat of imperial violence against those who questioned the presence of the Sun God’s armies. The non-Incan point of view expressed in the *HM* belies Cuzco’s official genealogy, which linked their ruling class with their Sun god, Inti. In Incan metaphysics, only royalty claimed direct bonds with the deities. Class and ethnic divisions in the Inca world reflected concepts of divine solar favoritism, a far cry from Paria Caca’s previously quoted declaration that “we are all of one birth.”<sup>282</sup>

Porousness and flexibility define the authorship of the *HM* as resolutely non-Incan, despite the influence of Cuzco’s armies. Just as certain Mesoamerican cultures (Aztecs and Mayas) shared some external characteristics, such as calendars and counting systems, while they philosophically diverged on others (human sacrifice, authoritarian structures and governmental infrastructure), so too did the cultures of Peru differ on as many points as they shared in common. Worship of natural deities and veneration of the landscape’s sacredness was shared by all Andean cultures. But exclusive connection to that landscape was an Inca political doctrine, possibly inherited from the smaller Wari empire that preceded them. Both Inca and Wari diverged radically from the non-centralized cultures of the Rimac and Lurin valleys in their powers of exclusion; philosophically, Incas would share more with European imperial thought than with their neighboring cultures. Garcilaso el Inca’s observation that Roman and Incan systems of law were not so far apart had its basis in fact.

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<sup>282</sup> Paria Caca’s declaration that all follow the same law in the *HM* (9, 71) is quoted on the previous page.



Yunca and Yauyo people of the Huarochiri coastal highlands had been colonized by the Wari Empire (550-900 ACE) before the Incas appeared in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Though Wari control does not appear to have been as absolute as either the Inca or the Spanish, the artifacts of Wari dominance,<sup>283</sup> and the military spread of its cult of the jaguar, portray a concerted attempt to impose a unitary ideology on their conquered lands. Inca dominance was more cohesive theologically than Wari's, and whereas the Wari never succeeded in replicating their Ayacuchan capital in other provinces, the Incas took Cuzco with them and reproduced its state control everywhere. Where the armies of Cuzco went, the cult of the Sun always followed. Huarochiri was no exception, even though, as seen in Chapter 23, the writers of the *HM* strike back vicariously at Inca colonization by transforming the Conquistador Tupac Yupanqui into an adept of *Huarochiri's* local gods, and ordering him to conform to Yauyo norms. "From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more, and gave him fifty of his retainers. The Inca said, Father Maca Uisa [son of Paria Caca], what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint.-I don't want anything, Maca Uisa replied, except that you should serve as *huacsa* [specially assigned priest] the way our children from the Yauyo do" (*HM* 23, 115).

As late as the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the inhabitants of Huarochiri continued to worship the same gods who predated Cuzco's solar adoration by more than a millennium.<sup>284</sup> This is why the lowland Yunca earth god, Pachacamac is presented as the patron of Inca emperor

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<sup>283</sup> The archaeologist Luis Lumbreras is an excellent source for the Wari imperial structure, tracing it from its beginnings in the Ayacucho region through its extension and massive road building activity throughout Peru. Lumbreras avers that the Indians defeated by the Incas under Pachacuti, the "Chancas," were the last vestiges of the Wari Empire, whose few survivors were later forcibly transferred to the North by Pachacuti's troops.

<sup>284</sup> Karen Spalding notes (98) that the worship of these pre-Incan gods lasted well past the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Tupac Yupanqui in Chapter 23 of the *HM*.<sup>285</sup> The highland Yauyo water-god Paria Caca, brother of his Yunca based sister, five armed Chaupi Namca, in Chapter 13 of the *HM*, continued to be adored a century after the Incas' Inti had been subsumed in syncretic images of Christ as the New Sun. Much as the Mayan deities remained outside the sphere of Spanish/Aztec syncretism, the Yunca/Yauyo gods could also never be incorporated into the colonial agenda. They outlasted the collapse of the Inca and Spanish empires, as their localized vision had little to do with Cuzco's, or Spain's, imperial gaze. Invisible in the Inca/Spanish syncretic art of the Colony, (as in the Cuzco school's melding of the Virgin Mary with the Pachamama), Yauyo and Yunca gods retained their autonomy. Unlike Incan figures, (the Pachamama, the Sun God Inti) Yunca/Yauyo deities could not be equated with any Christian trope, and so, like Mayan gods, they escaped assimilation into the dominant matrix.

Divisions in Huarochiri, first between people and gods, and later within those same categories, were less rigid than in the (Inca and/or Spanish) empires to which they were subjugated. On close reading, the *Huarochiri Manuscript* extolls a sort of chaotic harmony between humanized gods and deified humans. This harmony represents, in my opinion, a less hierarchical and fear-based religious system than that propagated by their conquerors. Where Inca (and later Spanish) governmental organization held sway, this man-god blending was unthinkable. Only one Sun existed, and the Sun's only sons were the Incas. If it were otherwise, what theological base did Cuzco's empire building have? Francisco Pizarro was not the first, nor would he be the last, to claim divine alibis for the purpose of political and economic tribute.

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<sup>285</sup> Cieza de Leon writes in Chap. 58 of his chronicle that Tupac Yupanqui, after seeing the impressive temple which the Yuncas had erected to Pachacamac on the coast, contented himself with building a temple to the Sun alongside it; the Yunca's fervor for Pachacamac was such that the Inca conqueror decided not to destroy the object of their devotion (Ballesteros 1985, 169).

#### 4.5 Economic Survival on the Physical and Metaphysical Planes

Paria Caca, in his guise as the human *huakcha*, is an individual with no means of sustenance and no extended kinship group to afford him any safety. Rootlessness, incarnated in the figure of the vagabond *huakcha*, upset the social fabric of the Andean village, often poised on the brink of famine. Life in Peru's agricultural sector, today as then, meant living on the threshold. El Nino's warming effects, then as now, marred the plant-growing climate and the fishing at regular intervals. Worse yet, man-made social strife, represented by social outcasts such as the *huakcha*, interrupted the system of co-operative resource distribution which guaranteed physical survival.<sup>286</sup> Anthropologist Alice Spedding stressed that the "huakcha" status had to be resolved through a set of imposed social obligations, which incorporated the solitary individual into the framework of the farming community. (Alice Spedding's document of Altiplano social survival in Bolivia: *Wachu Wachu*, 1994, refers in its title to an Aymara expression, *Wachu Wachu*, for working in tandem in the terraced fields, row by row).

Life has never been taken for granted in the Andes. Obstacles are inherent in the environment and life is interpreted as a treasure that must be won, communally and on a daily basis, with great effort. For the treasure to endure, it cannot be hoarded by individuals.<sup>287</sup> Resources, food above all, must be pooled to avoid hunger, since the hunger of one foreshadows the starvation of many. Therefore, behavior that encourages excess and/or selfishness had to be extirpated. This detested brand of behavior was what greeted the newly-

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<sup>286</sup> Dr. Sabino Arroyo Aguilar, speaking on Andean and Amazonian legends, asserted that physical survival lies at the base of the narrative structures of Amerindian Peruvian cultures. Arroyo Aguilar's point of view is, as he admits, influenced by Claude Levi-Strauss' Structuralist analysis of Native South American cosmology (Notes from a lecture in Casa de Ricardo Palma, Lima, Peru, August 27, 2010).

<sup>287</sup> Egalitarian sharing was inconceivable in the mercantile culture implanted by the Spanish Conquest. Several chroniclers, chief among them Guaman Poma de Ayala, pinpointed the imposition of the new forced-labor intensive Spanish system as the source of Andean social and familial disintegration during the Colonial period.

human Paria Caca when he attended, uninvited, the lavish banquet in the Yunca village of Huaqui Usa in Chapter 6 of the *HM*, and it is why Huaqui Usa is held up to ridicule by the god.

Was Paria Caca (whose worship was introduced by Yauyo highland invaders) ostracized in Yunca dominated Huaqui Usa due to his Yauyo origins? If so, this would jibe with the uneven social relations which characterized Yunca and Yauyo peoples for the roughly 600 years of their uneasy coexistence prior to Incan hordes in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. But no ethnically-based alibi is hinted at here. Anonymity and rags are what distance the god from the more well-off society of Huaqui Usa, not his ethnicity: “He sat down at the end of the banquet as he arrived, just like a friendless stranger/*huakcha*” (*HM* 6, 61). Tattered appearance and not Yauyo allegiance alienate the hard-drinking Yunca villagers.

Generally, material displays of sumptuousness in Amerindian societies were accompanied by the inclusion of the less fortunate in status and wealth:

If understanding time and space are important for the interpretation of Andean thought, then it becomes even more important to understand the Andean subject’s attitude in relation to nature and, more concretely, with the land... This attitude did not signify land ownership per se, but rather the undeniable right to extract from that land the resources necessary... community members considered this inalienable right to derive from a pact or “*manay*” (Quechua), established by nature itself by way of its divinities or protective forces, the *huacas*, the communities as a whole being represented in that pact by way of their founding ancestors, *huacas* themselves and guarantors of community survival.<sup>288</sup> (Bravo Guerreira in *El Mundo Indigena* 268-9, 2009) [My translation].

The vitality of the idea of *manay*-which shared the same root in Quechua as the modern term *munay*, or “heart/emotions”- remained doubly true in hard-to-farm Andean highlands particularly after the Spanish conquest. There, the isolated individual had to be incorporated,

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<sup>288</sup> Maria Concepcion Bravo Guerreira, in her article “Milenarismo y resistencia cultural en la historia de los pueblos andinos” (*El Mundo Indigena* 268-9) notes this distinction between a hierarchical sharing of land, evident in the Quechua *manay* concept, and out and out land confiscation, beginning with the Spanish Conquest.

“adopted” as it were, into a network of pre-existing relations, so as to avoid starvation. As a consequence of their own history and geography, modern day Aymara and Quechua traditions brim with stories of uncharitable villagers castigated with flooding for having expelled a beggar.<sup>289</sup> In Andean stories it is always the element of water, Paria Caca’s element, which punishes avarice with inundation. The more regal Sun god Inti (*Punchao* in the *HM*) was a Pan-Andean fire-symbol, appropriated by the Incan hierarchy into its own system of kingship and later venerated in Cuzco’s Coricancha. But Inti and his fire have no place in the *HM*.

In the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, only one Yunca individual offers Paria Caca food and drink in Huaqui Usa. Liquid, Paria Caca’s element, is symbolized by the fermented drink, which becomes a palpable symbol of social sharing in the text: “Finally a woman who was also a native of that village exclaimed, ‘Oh no! How come no one is offering this poor fellow a drink?’ She brought over some maize beer in a large white gourd and gave it to him” (*HM* 6, 61). She is unnamed, with “brothers and children,” and no mention of a spouse, and her uncertain civil status (married? unmarried? widowed?) may have set this character, in textual and cultural terms, closer to the social periphery that the “beggar” Paria Caca hovers within.

Although he thanks the woman, Paria Caca does not reveal his celestial side to her. However, he does assure her that she and her family will be spared in the deluge set to burst after the sacral five-day period. “Five days from now, you’ll see something awful happen in this village. So take care not to be in the village that day. Back off far away. Otherwise, I might kill both you and your children by mistake. These people have made me damn mad!” (*HM* 6, 61). Her salvation depends upon her secrecy regarding the flood. The woman and her relatives,

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<sup>289</sup> In Mercedes Gaju’s excellent collection of indigenous and mestizo stories of colonial Latin America, *Cuentos de Lugares Encantados* (1989) the Bolivian tale of “Aciru Khocha,” (18-23) a village turned into a lake for its indifference to wandering beggars, is typical of Andean cautionary parables regarding greed and hoarding.

a Noah-like remnant, are then entrusted to recreate humanity on a reciprocal model in which no beggar will be scorned.

Paria Caca's refusal to reveal his name to the people of Huaqui Usa, nor to the woman he saves, echoes the Twins' similar silence in the theatre of Xibalba. The god's use of anonymity clarifies the perverse nature of the villagers. This is how they act when they do not know with whom they are interacting, and, unaware of the god's nature, the villagers treat him with contempt. Paria Caca's revenge manifests itself anonymously at the end of the consecrated five-days. "Five days later the woman, together with her children and her brothers, did go away from that village. But the people of the village went right on drinking without a care. Then Paria Caca climbed the mountain that overtook Huaro Cheri. On the mountain Paria Caca started a torrential rainstorm..." (HM 6, 61). In the Biblical legend, when Lot left Sodom, his wife was turned to a pillar of salt; but in the Andean legend, while men carouse, it is the woman who never looks back.

This five-day period mimics the five-fold birth/transition of the god himself, as Paria Caca evolves through the various states of five eggs to five falcons to five gods to five humans. Five days are needed to prepare a thorough destruction. Amid distinct planes of perception, for the reader/listener, the number five is a kind of numerical "huaca," a signpost marking a trail of remembered events. Rebecca Stone Miller notes that "the presentation of one element that is physically impossible in this reality is often balanced by one that is possible" (58). In Andean spiritualism, Paria Caca shape-shifts from human (possible) to god/bird/egg (impossible) and back again, in much the same manner that "miracles" are interpolated into the Biblical and Koranic narratives: to illustrate a moral point. (Jesus withered the fig tree; Joshua stopped the sun in its tracks; Mohammed was saved by a spider in a cave. None of these impossibilities or

miracles is arbitrary within their respective plot lines). In the value system of the *HM*, greed is as repugnant as human sacrifice. The plot line demands a miracle, and Paria Caca obliges; he destroys the avaricious folk of Huaqui Usa with the same weapon employed against the god Huallallo: the burning and purifying “red and yellow rain.” “Rising up as red hail and yellow hail, he washed all those people away to the ocean and didn’t spare a single one. At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide and shaped the high slopes and valleys of Huaro Cheri” (*HM* 6, 61). Even the landscape then holds moral teachings, a natural book read in the World.

Like the Hindu god Shiva’s lightning bolts, Paria Caca’s rain comes quickly, without preambles. As we have noted with Mayan deities, Andean (non-Incan) divinities are not given to long-windedness. Moral paradigms clarify themselves through action. Paria Caca does not explain his raging torrents to the Yunca Pollas, the recipients of his punishment, because his action makes the moral of the story self-evident. “When Paria Caca had finished all these things, he didn’t explain them...” (*HM* 6, 62). Water, the most precious element, takes on its noxious aspect and obliterates. In its over-abundance, water brings death by flood, a sarcastic counterpoint to the miserliness offered to the “beggar” by the villagers. The ironic result of hoarding is unlimited deluge. Flooding castigates hoarding with its opposite: excess.

The threat of the beggar figure in the Andean landscape is best assessed in relation to the terrain that gives birth to the Yauyo beggar and the Yunca villagers. Anthropologist Brian Billman explained in 2002: “While the apparent marine and terrestrial abundance of the central Andean coast created opportunities, environmental perturbation also placed critical constraints on indigenous populations. The volume of river flow varies dramatically from year to year, and seasonal variation in volume limits the extent of double cropping. In addition, several times a

century, severe climatic reversals, known as El Nino events, occur on the coast” (“Understanding the Timing and Tempo of Political Centralization on the Central Andean Coastline and Beyond” 186).

Given the extremity of the geographical conditions in which Andeans existed, and given the fact that the population battled daily for sheer subsistence, any ostentatious consumption of the type that Paria Caca observed in his vagabond’s disguise would have sparked fury. Tradition in the non-Incan Andes strove to avoid ostentation, which shattered social cohesion. The teachings of the *HM* embodied the rules by which Andean society survived before the Incas, and then rebuilt itself after the Spanish Conquest: sharing and collaborative work.

Unsurprisingly, Andean villagers are as selfish as the rest of humanity, obligating the beggar/god to repeat the flood-paradigm to his recalcitrant human students, again and again. Paria Caca’s struggle against human sacrifice and human avarice are, in my analysis, twin facets of the same ethos. Natural disasters are seen teleologically as penalties for the cannibalistic and material appetites of the wealthy. Devouring without sharing, devouring human beings...

Paria Caca’s “flood cycle” in *Huarochiri* registers disgust with the excesses and “devouring” of the upper classes. Since the stories are collected at the very end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, their message by extension encompassed indigenous nobles *and* the new hidalgos of the Spanish Conquest. Conspicuous consumption left no room for marginalized individuals, such as the beggar, the orphan, and the huakcha,<sup>290</sup> who had always existed, but whose suffering had been attenuated through the social safety net of Andean tradition. In alarming

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<sup>290</sup> Salomon and Urioste, note 670, p. 126.



numbers, beggars proliferated in the wake of the social destruction wrought by the Conquest. It should not be forgotten that the author(s) of the *HM* lived at a time when they would have been familiar with different types of poverty of both the pre *and* post-conquest varieties. This being the case, the socio-economic context of the *Manuscript* gives the Paria Caca beggar cycle greater impact than it would have had prior to Pizarro. Starvation had become a fact of life in erstwhile self-sufficient Andean villages.

Stinginess is the problem here, not the celebration per se, as public rejoicing was an important element of Andean social cohesion since earliest times. Paria Caca himself decrees ceremonies of feasting and celebration; Chapter 17 of the *HM* is unambiguous in reiterating that the god had “to establish his own cult” (94). The transgression punished by Paria Caca in the flood cycle is specifically the denial of charity to less fortunate individuals who do not enjoy a secure place in the structure of the extended Andean clan, the *ayllu*. The leitmotiv of the Paria Caca cycle is *ayni*, defined by Carolyn Dean as “an obligation to aid a partner, as well as a promise that help will be available from that partner when needed” (*A Culture of Stone: Inca Perspectives on Rock* 68).

In the Yaru Tini flood episode, Paria Caca is presented as already human, but endowed with supernatural qualities. His half-state of shamanic transition recalls the Hero Twins, whose sympathy for humanity differentiates them from their blood relatives, the Xibalbans. In the Yaru Tini segment, Paria Caca’s “otherness” is hinted at by his enigmatic aside to Yaru Tini’s sole generous inhabitant: “Brother, when I come back here, you’d better hold on tight to this tree. Don’t tell these people anything. Let them have their fun” (*HM* 25, 125). Paria Caca’s use of the term “brother” diminishes the distance between the human being and the divinity, showcasing *Huarochiri*’s porous cosmology: mortal and immortal overlap and reconcile.

Similar concepts were inconceivable in Inca thought. The chosen people of the Sun God might be referred to as Inti's "children" but certainly never as Inti's "brothers." *Huarochiri's* deities don't mind sharing the glory, and the humble villager becomes the Capac Huanca, the "great monolith" whom Paria Caca raises to divine status.

In reward for his kindness, the villager-cum-god will never lack for nourishment: "And so, exactly according to Paria Caca's command, the *huacsas* provided that *huaca* [Capac Huanca] with coca to chew forever" (*HM* 25, 126). The generous villager becomes a god, sharing human and lithic states just as Paria Caca, the bifurcated mountain, does. Paria Caca, like the Twins, jettisons long speeches for actions. And when he finally does speak, it is to establish the godliness of the one human being who showed him mercy, and whom he transforms into a divine *huaca*. Being a *huaca* does not mean that the villager's human life is over; rather, it doubles his existence on different planes. "Pre-Hispanic Andeans did not perceive of lithification as a necessarily permanent state; what was once rock might return to rock, and what was once animate might spring to life again" (*A Culture of Stone* 39).

In Chapter 26 of the *HM*, Paria Caca's condemnation of the Maca Calla villagers' cruelty to the "beggar" is developed in stages. Bit by bit, the disaster which the villagers' miserliness makes imminent is foreshadowed by Nature. Slowly, the metaphor of Nature expands to reveal the extent of Paria Caca's rage. A small cloud turns into a mist that becomes an inundation. "They say some of the aboriginal villagers in Maca Calla were playing with the hunting *bolas*. Others were drinking. Meanwhile, a little puff of fog appeared out of the high mountain called Canlli. And then, little by little, some rain, a red rain, started to fall. Then lightning began to flash..." (127).

The Guetarre Indians of Costa Rica speak of the “cilampa,” an ostensibly gentle vapor that envelops, transforms, and then curses all within its midst (*Cuentos de Lugares Encantados* 53). The scene described in *Huaro-chiri* recalls that cilampa. Paria Caca’s little cloud is an apocalypse that does not announce itself. It kills quietly without warning, just as the villagers do. They do not murder outright, but slowly execute the poor in silence, by facilitating their starvation. The inconsequential mist, by analogy, announces a firestorm, a direct consequence of the lack of communal sharing.

Only one altruist is apotheosized into a spatial dimension, a *huaca*, the afore-mentioned *Capac Huanca*. He now belongs to the world (or more precisely, to one of the worlds) to which Paria Caca himself belongs. Celia Rubin remarks that the glorification of a human being as a huaca implies the establishment of a space of worship for that huaca, (“La piedra inkaychu...” 292). In this manner, the human being occupies a geographical boundary as a tutelary deity, while visible to other humans as stone. The shaman, of course, may at times perceive the invisible reality of the visible stone. Terrified of the implications of an entirely sacral landscape the Spanish Conquest strove to eradicate these stones altogether: “When Senor Avila came to the very spot where Capac Huanca dwelled, he in fact broke the huaca with some other people’s help. After he broke it, he heaved it downhill” (*HM* 25, 126).

Stones are animate substances from the Andean perspective. They are realizations of a living earth that radiates Being on many levels. Some of those levels are palpably human and some not. Huacas in the *HM* retain their gamut of human relations, reincarnating as mortal, or anything else, at will. Even after Cavillaca has become a huaca, a stone outcropping in the sea, she retains her more woman-like physical existence, hosting visitors (such as her mother: *HM* 2, 19). She remains impervious, stone-like, only to her despised suitor, the god Conirraya.

Huacas talk, dance, travel, visit, and find themselves in humorous predicaments, while their spiritual realm impinges constantly on our physical one. In the visible (to us) shape of stones, the new huacas, like Capac Huanca and Cavillaca, convey their supernatural strength to humans. Stones are revered by humans as visible avatars of ancestral souls, wherever they are multiply located. “The concept of triplicity, or of multiple locations, each one simultaneously embodying the others, appears also in *hanan pacha*, *kay pacha*, *urin pacha*, translated as Earth Above, This Earth, and Earth Below” (Kemper-Columbus. *Llamastronomers and Roads...* 35). Huacas thrive at all three levels, and continue to have adventures not always seen by us, but recounted in the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. Thanks to this double existence of stone and flesh, Paria Caca seduces Choque Suso whilst appearing to us as the twin-peaked mountain of Huarochiri’s sacred landscape. As a mountain, he infuses men with virile force, and his five-armed sister does so for her sisters. “Paria Caca gives vitality to men; and, coincident with the festivities of Corpus Christi, Chaupi Namca gives vitality to women” (“Llamastronomers...” 39).

Paria Caca is at times the red and yellow rain of moral ire and at others, the man smitten with lust for the beautiful Choque Suso. His passion, and her acquiescence, ignites the seasonal agricultural cycle. “Water is linked to the masculine power of Paria Caca, although we could also say that water has some linkage to the tears of Choque Suso [My translation].” (*Yanantin* 59). In Mayan and Andean shamanic belief systems, healers can embody their avatars in multiple times and places beyond linear time, not only “elsewhere but else when,” as Rebecca Stone Miller’s clarifies. The Inca, on the other hand, are presented in *Huarochiri* as being vain and short of vision, convinced that the world is immutable and much smaller than it actually is: “The Inca probably thought that the world ends somewhere in the waters of Uru

Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac” (*HM* 22, 111). The Incas shared the concept of a smaller and immutable world with 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain, and with Aristotelian thought, but not with their obstreperous Yauyo and Yunca subjects.

Lakota Sioux elders speak of the continuous proliferation of the individual, facilitated by the multiple masks worn by human beings in their relationships with the surrounding world. This configuration, called the *naghi*, translates as the individual’s “relational selves” (Mehl-Madrona. *The Spirit of Healing* CD). Thus Paria Caca is five beings, and the Twins and their father/fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, may in fact be one. As with the different identities we assume in the course of a day, depending upon whom we interact with, each “self” is different, depending upon whom, or what, it encounters.

In Andean non-Incan spirituality, in Mayan thought, and in certain North American Indian cultures, jaguars, kings, beggars, and rocks are all interchangeable categories. External assemblages of form, the body and the appearance, are transient. Shamanistic thought prefigures what quantum physics insists today: forms are constantly changing and evolving even while we look at them. In this parade of physical illusion (similar to the Hindus’ *maya*, or dream images) the only unchanging element is the moral paradigm which the text imparts to the community. Thus, in the episodes that tell of Paria Caca’s flooding, the moral paradigm is the excoriation of greed. Without exception, only those who display generosity avoid destruction.

Again the villagers are insensitive to human suffering, and punishment will be meted out. In the chapter dealing with Maca Calla (*HM* 26), just one figure escapes Paria Caca’s fury. He is the shaman of the Sutica clan (128) who flees to safety via the mutilated statue, the

huaca, of Maca Calla. “While he wept, Maca Calla’s head fell down right before him. He picked the head up where it fell, and made it fly away instantly transformed into a falcon. This man was imbued with a mighty shamanic power” (*HM* 26, 128). The falcon is a recognized avatar of Paria Caca, who hatched from “five falcon eggs”; Maca Calla, who saves the shaman, is a petrified *huanca*, an ancestor who, now in the spirit/lithic realm, continues to have dominion over the land occupied by his descendants. The landscape in which Andeans live is itself a moral parable.

Huacas, as Kemper-Columbus noted, consecrate the landscape as well as providing visual testimony of historical/mythical events. Stone huacas in particular can be read as cautionary tales within Andean reality. Long after Incan and Spanish “reorganization” of Yunca and Yauyo polities for purposes of labor exploitation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, huacas continued to impart values indispensable for the maintenance of Andean village life.

Clans shared responsibility within the parameters of a class system, although kinship superstructures and chosen allegiances predominated over class in non-Incan areas, as *Huarochiri* attests. When the Incas arrived in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, they forcibly incorporated Huarochiri’s territory into the perimeters of the *Capac Nan*, the “high road” that linked all conquered areas to Cuzco. In defiance, the Huarochiranos continued to maintain their original huacas as far south as the city of Pachacamac, a city whose eponymous earth deity is connected to older Yunca gods, not to the Incas’ pantheon. In a brilliant and vengeful reordering of history, Pachacamac scares the Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui almost to death in the pages of the *HM*. Tupac, frustrated by the gods’ indifference, beseeches Pachacamac’s help, but that god replies: “Inca, Mid-Day Sun! As for me, I didn’t reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn’t be those enemies alone whom I would

destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent" (*HM* 23, 115).

When the Conquistadors arrived, they introduced European style vassalage and plantation labor, institutions which led to the depopulation of many of Huarochiri's villages. "Consequently, during the century and more when 'extirpation' lashed the archbishopric, Huarochiri was one of the two most punished provinces" (*The Cord Keepers* 8). The broken huacas were designated by the Crown as remnants from another time, condemned by Spanish authorities who viewed them as threateningly "pagan."

Due to the institutionalization of forced labor and tribute introduced by the Spanish Conquest, wide-spread poverty entered Andean life for the first time. From the early 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Indians occupied, as they do today, the lowest rung of their own universe. The Conquest made them a disenfranchised agricultural class. Seen in this context, the ethics of community sharing inherent in the *HM*, and the huacas that represent these ethics, are resolute reminders of the pre-Hispanic world. The head of the *huanca* Maca Calla functions as a miraculous thread of hope remaining from that time. Grasped by the desperate shaman, it offers another model for behavior still extant in the late 16<sup>th</sup>/early 17<sup>th</sup> century, when these stories were retold and written down. The *huanca*'s head rescues the shaman and facilitates the re-population of humanity, post-Deluge. It re-establishes civilization in the original order of five, the sacred number of the directions of the universe: "So, after he made the head escape, the man settled again on the five mountains of Llantapa and multiplied. We call the mountains where he settled, where he built the villages, Pihcca Marca" (*HM* 26, 128). The five mountains, like the five-fold Paria Caca, represent life rejuvenated and reborn.

Visual images of humans grasping bird heads are evident in the Bird Men Cults of the Rapa Nui in Easter Island. Bird-men sarcophagi of the Chachapoya Indians in Peru's Upper Amazon demonstrate this human-avian symmetry, in their feathered bodies and beaked noses.<sup>291</sup> Bird-men also beckoned from the enigmatic portraiture of Moche art (100-800 ACE).<sup>292</sup> Matthew Looer's treatises on Mayan dance, (*To Be Like Gods*, 2009) revolve around the bird-man garment which deified the royal dancers of Tikal and Palenque. Standing Classic Maya culture on its head, the post-Classic Twins performed bird-dances in Xibalba to confuse the Lords. Flying meant transcendence of earthly bonds, but wings could also subvert the Underworld.

In the wake of Spanish firearms, the Incas' collapse, and the systematic desecration of Andean holy sites in Huarochiri, the motif of Maca Calla's head-turned-bird evokes another regal and dismembered head. This is the legend of the *Inkarri*, the head of the decapitated Inca Atahualpa. Buried somewhere, but fecund and alive, the head of the *Inkarri* was believed by its followers to one day sprout limbs and be whole. The head would revive the dormant "body" of the Inca Empire that was extinguished by the Conquistadors' in 1533. These similarities being noted, the head of Maca Calla in the *HM* is more subversive than the *Inkarri*'s head. Unlike the legend of the *Inkarri*, Maca Calla's head does not foreshadow the Inca empire as an alternative to Spanish rule. It needs neither Spain nor Cuzco. Rather, Maca Calla's transplanted head

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<sup>291</sup> Peruvian archaeologist Federico Kaufmann Doig, in his excavations of 10<sup>th</sup> century Chachapoya burial places, observed the similarity of bird-men motifs in Peruvian burials and on Easter Island. Whether or not any historical contact is verifiable, the Bird/Man motif pervades the Pacific Coast, from Alaska to Patagonia.

<sup>292</sup> Catherine Allen, in "Revolt of the Utensils..." remarks on utensils endowed with human consciousness in Moche ceramics. Those, like the utensils in the *PV* and the *HM*, rise up against their human owners. (20) The subsequent fusions of birds and men in Moche art, such as those preserved in Lima's Museum of Anthropology, are an extension of a thought system which viewed humans, animals, and objects as interchangeable components of a Universal thought pattern, in which human beings are in no way superior to other life forms.



augurs a replanting and rebuilding of pre-Incan village life, in accordance with Paria Caca's dictates, with localized, pre-Incan gods.

Pre-Incan village life was the only code of values enabling post-Conquest Andeans to survive. Karen Spalding concurs. The Inca code was **not** the one which the Huarochiranos respected or emulated: "Though most sources state that the Inca appointed a governor or *tocticoc* in each province, local sources do not always support such an assertion" (90). Particularly so, I would add, when the local sources, such as the *HM*, had outlasted the Incas' surrender to Spain.

#### *4.6 Perspectives That Predate Empires, and the Backdrop of the Spanish Colony*

The ideological matrixes of the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* predate the colonial era in which they were committed to the Latin alphabet. Ideologically, the persecution of Native religion during the Colony augmented the rebellious tenor of the epics. In their pages, strategic resistance set the tone. These stories (and cultures) had survived three military onslaughts: Aztec, Inca and Spanish. In addition, they had survived their own cycles of violent internal dissension and local despotism. The questioning of authority, internal and external, had become an integral part of Mayan and Andean non-Incan societies long before the Spanish Conquest. In book form, the *PV* and the *HM* transmitted older anti-authoritarian teachings, grafting them onto the newer situation of European imperialism in the New World.

Said process is identical to the application of the Bible or the Koran to situations that are removed from the circumstances of the original scriptures, something which occurs daily in our own time. For the unknown writers of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*, Aztec human sacrifice, Incan bellicosity, Spanish military aggression, and the interminable history of Mayan

and Andean internal skirmishing constituted literary reference points. The reworking of Mayan and Andean cosmological motifs in the Colonial world is comparable to Western or Islamic application of millenniums-old prophecy. Human beings best absorb reality through the concepts received from their predecessors. Sometimes, through genius and historical circumstance, they are able to re-work the older tools.

Successful re-working is glimpsed in the sarcastic modality in which the ancient teachings of the *PV* and the *HM* were transcribed during the Colony. We will never know if the challenging tone of these books was present when the epics were written down by Maya scribes, and retold by Andean shamans, in the centuries before the Conquest. But in the interim between the legends' genesis and their edited, "Western" literary form, Spanish imperialism had sharpened the texts' anti-Establishment tendencies. Mayan and Andean colonial writers infused their earlier legends with elements of their lived existence. Theologically, we do the same with monotheistic legends in our synagogues, churches and mosques, each time we hear a sermon based on Moses, Jesus, or Mohammed's teachings.

Yet not one of us, save the most fundamentalist, can claim to know what Jesus really preached on the Mount, what Moses ordained at Sinai, or what Mohammed spoke to his followers in Mecca. What did the Twins really shout on Xibalba's ball-courts? What message had Paria Caca thundered down in his red and yellow rains? Whatever it was (or was not), the original messages are less important than what the colonial Mayas and Andeans did with that material in the half-millennium of their domination by Spain, and later during subsequent, despotic Latin American governments of the Right and Left. The Bible, the Koran, the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* all fall within the same canon of Scripture. All of them,

without exception, remain subject to re-structuring, re-interpreting, and constant re-imagining, by those who read and live by their teachings.

The crux of the philosophical perspective of the *PV* and the *HM* are: a) the redefinition of relationships between the gods and humanity and b) the metamorphosis of worship from dread-based sacrifice to a celebration of Creation and life. These new perspectives reflected conflicts within Mayan and Andean society, and provided a counterpoint to the bloodshed of the Conquest as well. Colonial torture and the public burnings of the *autos-da-fe* perpetuated the savagery of belief systems which the Mayan and Andean stories had earlier protested in Native contexts. Human sacrifice, in the opinion of Mexican anthropologist Luis Barjau (2014) reappeared in Inquisitorial garb. The excesses of the Franciscans in Yucatan (1540-1570) and the anti-idolatry extirpations in Peru (1670-1690) enshrined the murder and bodily mutilation of the New World Inquisition. Although officially the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over the Indians, the stipulation was farcical. Franciscans could be regularly empowered to “assume” Inquisitorial functions, as they did in Yucatan; and recidivist Andeans, accused of venerating pre-Hispanic huacas, were forever being remanded to the Inquisition’s representatives in Lima. Sacrificers still had to be fought, and defeated.

Mayan and Andean epics do not share the fatal nostalgia of our three monotheistic faiths, with their lost Eden and their recuperative, and severe, Day of Judgment. There is no specter of any Eden in Mayab or Huarochiri. For Mayan and Andean cosmovisions, nostalgia is useless; the past was not better, and there never was a Golden Age. Before the auto-da-fes of the idol-extirpating European clergy altered American reality, the cannibalistic deities (Huallallo) and the sadistic deities (Xibalba) had to be crushed and reduced to a minimally operative sphere. Crushing them meant constant struggle, not the serenity of Paradise. The

diminished status of Huallallo and Xibalba therefore represent rejection of the original Native American order, in which Europeans had played no part. Hence, there was no romanticizing an Amerindian Paradise Lost, even after the Conquest. The devastation wrought by Europeans in the Americas was shocking; nonetheless, the devastation wrought by imperial Amerindian armies, or by princes of warring city-states, did not appear any softer in retrospect. The writers of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh* did not glorify the Native American past. All humans, Spanish or Indian, were equally noxious, or equally noble.

The spirituality of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* shies away from models of monolithic authority of any variety, European or Native American. The cultures which produced the texts provided the tonic: cellular, autonomous village confederations in Mayan areas and in Huarochiri had produced fluid and shifting attitudes to authority, any authority, from within the Amerindian sphere. Unquiet natures characterize the protagonists of these books. Discontent begins with women like Ixqiq, who disobey their Xibalban fathers, and those like Cavillaca, who spurn their godly suitors. Discontent continues with would-be human sacrifices that abandon the solemn ceremony, and live, such as the father and his son saved by Paria Caca. In Native American society, as in Europe, dissenting voices questioned, at times openly and at times clandestinely, certain tenets imposed by the ruling class, such as sacrifice. It is worth noting here that Paria Caca's name may mean "foreigner," a term that hints at the difficulty with which his teachings could have found their reception centuries ago in Huarochiri.<sup>293</sup>

The unusual or "foreign" nature of Paria Caca's teachings suggests more than the Yauyo penetration of Yunca territory in the 10<sup>th</sup> century ACE. "Foreignness" could augur a

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<sup>293</sup> Astahuaman González, Cesar W. (14) says: "Regarding the meaning of the god's name, the terms *para* (reddish) and *caca* (hill) refer to the reddish mountain; other interpretations of *caca* are *foreigner* or *giver* (Zuidema 1986: 20) and could indicate the alien character of Paria Caca within that relation with Huallallo" [My translation].

more benevolent way of conceiving the universe, an “alien” conception that omitted human blood as a propitiatory element for the gods. Such a message was anathema to the Huallallo worshippers in medieval Peru, and was anathema to the Incan and Spanish armies which followed. All empire whatever its ideology needs the terror of sacrifice (the Inquisition’s rack or the obsidian knife) to bolster its military hierarchy.

Mayan contemporary tradition<sup>294</sup> emphasizes post-Classic local antipathy to the Toltecs/Aztecs (1200-1521 ACE), portraying them as the initiators of human sacrifice in Mayab. Sacrifice of human captives, however, was enacted by Mayan kings prior to the Toltec invasions. Recent excavations in Cancuen, Guatemala, conducted by Arthur Demarest, have raised the possibility that Mayan commoners, sick to death of the bloodshed and abuses of their own royal families, massacred the aristocrats in a style comparable to the 1917 execution of the Romanovs. If Demarest is right,<sup>295</sup> the evidence in Cancuen (roughly 800 ACE), consonant with the general collapse of Mayan city-states elsewhere in Guatemala, would prove that not all Mayan ills arose from the Nahuatl militarism of the Mexican valley. Not everything can be blamed on the Aztecs, or the Spaniards.

Internal Mayan opposition to the needlessness of sacrifice emerged before the Toltecs invaded, and long before the 16<sup>th</sup> century alphabetic transcription of the *Popul Vuh*. Examples of that opposition are found in the majestic Maya dance drama, the *Rabinal Achi*, which describes a sacrifice of a captive prisoner in the pre-Conquest period.<sup>296</sup> The glorification of

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<sup>294</sup> I refer here to long conversations held with Mayan educators, tour-guides, archaeologists and university professors, during 2002-2004 in Yucatan, in 2009 in Campeche, and in 2013 in Guatemala City.

<sup>295</sup> It should be noted that, while commenting on the massacre of the Cancuen royal family, Demarest also considers the possibility that rival nobles may have been responsible; or that it may even have been an alliance between discontented citizenry and the external enemies of Cancuen’s aristocracy.

<sup>296</sup> The finest translation of the *Rabinal Achi* (“Man of Rabinal”) is that of Dennis Tedlock, the details of which appear in my bibliography. As Tedlock states, the script of the drama is filled with speech-patterns that mimic

that captive, evident in every line of the script, portends a budding protest against the sacrificial institution during the Classic Period. It may indicate the feelings of the post-Classic and more cynical Maya, who did not hold their, or anyone else's, kings in esteem.

In light of their historical circumstances, these documents depict philosophical cleavages occurring within Native American society, both independently of the Spanish presence *and* in relation to it. Conflicting attitudes towards metaphysical and temporal power constitute the agonic marrow of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. The texts are not overly “exotic” as some early 20<sup>th</sup> century theorists claimed.<sup>297</sup> On the contrary, the stories speak to our ethical concerns, and their questions are ones that continue to trouble us. Is our universe latently hostile? Does Heaven demand death as part and parcel of its worship? Or can the deities (or at least, our conception of them, of what we call God) survive without sacrificing human beings, figuratively and literally, on the altar of all our respective religions?

For Mayan and Andean thinkers, and for us when we read these texts, there is no Eden to recreate. The past as detailed in these epics is horrific. Nonetheless, there IS spiritual evolution. Unjust authority can be ousted, but it requires a constant and vigilant effort, because Xibalba and Huallallo are never completely vanquished. This is in keeping with contemporary indigenous beliefs about the afterlife, in which work continues unabated in eternity, though with more fortuitous results.<sup>298</sup> Work is ongoing, in this life and the next. Even after the new

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those of colonial era Mayan texts, and may date back much further. The transcription of the play is from the Modern period, in 1862, thanks to the indefatigable Brasseur de Bourbourg, whose translation of the *Popul Vuh* was published one year earlier.

<sup>297</sup> Rafael Girard disseminated an overly “magical” vision of the *Popul Vuh* that, while enticing, did little to bring the book into the Canon of Latin American literature, and left it as a strange and overly esoteric item.

<sup>298</sup> Francisco Ormachea's 1996 Quechua language film *Ajayu* and Rolando Klein's earlier 1974 Yucatec Mayan film, *Chac*, allowed Native American actors to describe the taxing nature of indigenous afterlives: even in the Next World, work must be performed, the Sun and the Rain must be propitiated, and there is no Eternal Rest.

laws of Paria Caca and the Twins are established, human beings will slide backwards, and must be redirected.

We can expect no happy end. But we can prepare for a successful, if interminable, fight. Historical time intrudes, and latter-day incarnations of Huallallo and the Lords of Xibalba remain. Fortunately, so does the revolt against everything that they represent.

### ***Impossible Conclusion?? Compassionate Rebellion as a Way of Life***

The total abolition of evil is unimaginable in the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. There is no euphoric, or terrifying, End of Days. Battles continue, but one learns to use his/her weapons with precision and a fair dose of humor. Angry laughter rings throughout the cosmos in the voices of the poor, the sacrificial victims who thwart the sacrifice, the unwed mother (Ixq'iq), the woman who shuns a god (Cavillaca), and the beggars who shock their tormentors when they (like Paria Caca and the Hero Twins) are revealed to be gods themselves. Thanks to the narratives of the *PV* and the *HM*, all these muted throats can sing, despite the evil that remains, like the Lords of Xibalba, in somewhat attenuated form.

It may be, as the Hero Twins declare, that the Lords of Xibalba are not Lords at all. By envisioning their adversaries in a way less terrifying to themselves and to ourselves, (these are fools and charlatans, not deities), Hunahpu and Ixbalamque diminish Xibalba's noxious magic. That critical utterance: "you are not gods," hints that the idea of godliness may only have existed in the minds of those who were terrified by the Xibalbans. Mayan shamanism teaches that our minds are both healer and slayer, depending upon the nature of our thoughts. James Fitzsimmons (*Death and the Maya Kings* 15) reminds us that there is no glyph as yet discovered for Xibalba, and this dearth in the archaeological record may be deliberate. Xibalba

does not need to exist as a physical entity, unlike the physical afterlives of other religions. The “place of fear” that is Xibalba’s meaning may be a mind and spirit created torment. It does not need a locus point. Mental hell and mental anguish are more intangible and yet more painful than any part of Dante’s Inferno.

The physical Xibalba is not important, because Mayans could bless, or damn, any space at all through the reconfiguration of that space somewhere else, using their cosmogonic model. The consecration or opprobrium of sacred space could (and can, among the modern Maya) occur anywhere on this earth. The space marks the portal to the thirteen floral and jade heavens above and the nine temporary underworlds below. One of those underworlds is Xibalba, which can be anywhere where anguish is present. Neither pain nor joy needs physical boundaries. If everywhere could be Xibalba, psychologically/spiritually, then nowhere had to be Xibalba geographically. And the Mayans may indeed have no glyph for Xibalba, as they do for heaven and earth. This incorporation of Xibalba as an element in the overall life cycle, and its dethronement as supreme arbiter of Terror, does admit the continued existence of Evil. But it refuses to accord Evil the upper hand.

Why is it that Hunahpu and Ixbalamque do not obliterate the loathsome lords entirely? Perhaps for the same reason that the Old Testament allows the existence of the Serpent in Eden; or the New Testament allows the presence of the Devil. These are etiological stories, and they must explain why life is the way it is. Suffering is a fact of life in all of humanity’s cultures; but submitting to the suffering is not a given. In the Mayan vision, Evil may never disappear altogether, but its godlike aura and “autoritas” can fade away when the sufferer realizes the limited nature of his/her torments. Hence the importance of the affirmation to the Xibalbans that they are “not gods.”



Once Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque draw the curtain on the Xibalbans' unholy masquerade, the Xibalbans lose their ability to infuse absolute despair. They may do damage, but the Hero Twins have created an unbeatable hope that flies out of this Mayan Pandora's box. Demoted to a rank of lesser opiates, the Xibalbans will cause anguish, but the Twins' humor and spunk will provide a constant antidote. Because all is a repeating cycle, the antidote must be taken (by humanity) constantly.

The antidote is the word. The word "maintains with its energy all that can be named" as J. Miguel Cocom Pech, a contemporary Mayan author, stated in 2006 ("Raices literarias del Mexico antiguo" 113-122). The Xibalbans are re-named, dropping from the category of deity to that of illness and vexation. No longer dominating the human sphere, they are incorporated within it.

Renaming is reordering, reimagining, reconfiguring. The Xibalbans are reconfigured as lesser ills, who no longer demand human sacrifice. Such an idea would have resonated with post Classic Mayan society, which was, since the 10<sup>th</sup> century, in a process of reconfiguration. Whether it was the Mayan uprising of 1224, which overthrew the Toltec/Nahua based theocracy in Chichen Itza; or the 15<sup>th</sup> century Mayans who battled Aztec mercenaries in Mayapan; or the Mayans of Tayasal, who fought the Conquistadors till 1697; or the Mayas of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> (and 20<sup>th</sup>) century, who alternately fought the Spanish Crown or a no less corrupt Mexican government, the reconfiguration of Mayan culture had weakened all central authority. The process had probably begun earlier, in Cancuen (NOT CANCUN) during the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when local Mayan peasants, with possible outside intromission, had slaughtered their own ruling class. The *Popul Vuh* is a text which could only have been composed secretly during the colonial period, though its roots, as Patricia McAnany notes, stretched back much

further (McAnany, 139). Its distrust of all authority, local or foreign, is the mature determination of a people who had seen more than one empire come and go.

Later generations of Mayans (including the present one-2014) identified the Corn God, Hun Nal, with the Twins' resurrected father. That specific equivalence is never actually mentioned in the text of the *Popul Vuh*, but the comparison is an apt one. What we call death is, like the withered corn-stalk, not entirely eliminated, but the Twins convert it into part of the eternal life process. There, it loses its power to induce fear and becomes simply a natural occurrence, a precondition for rebirth. In "Cosmology and the Institutionalization of Hierarchy in the Mayan Region," McAnany comments on an Early Classic Stela from Tikal, (Stela 31) which "shows the ruler as Hun Ajaw, a classic period variation of Hunahpu...This depiction suggests that rulers may have been expected to embody the heroism and athleticism of the Twins. The heroism of the Twins is based in part on their cleverness and athletic prowess. The very fact that they are twins sets them apart as iconic principles of duality" (139). Succeeding generations of Mayan people adapted their religious epics to their own circumstances, just as Europeans legitimized their monarchs through the Divine Right of Kings, and just as Muslims based the Caliphate on Allah's commands regarding Mohammed's successors. But as Mayan culture evolved it had, by the end of the Classic Period, become allergic to kings and queens. Even their own political elites no longer commanded their respect. They laughed at them, disempowered them, rebelled against them, and when need be, they killed them.

In other Mayan epics, such as Q'anil, the man of lightning of the Jakalte Maya, the hero, once his/her mission is fulfilled, cannot return to their former existence. (Victor Montejo's beautiful tri-lingual retelling of the Q'anil story [University of Arizona, 2001] recounts the narrative in which Q'anil is manifested as the protective, warning lightning bolts

of his village). They must care for their people on a higher plane, an idea that shares more than a little with the transformation in “huaca” that transforms the hero/heroine in the Andes. Similarly, Hunahpu and Ixbalaamque are apotheosized as the Sun and Moon. They break the darkness that has blinded humanity till that time. Night and day, the variations of calendric time that have fascinated the Mayans since their civilization’s inception, become manageable because they are now formally reconfigured and “named”: the Sun is Hunahpu, the Moon is Ixbalaamque. This constant and even comforting Duality which the Twins represent illuminates all three Worlds: the Upper Firmament, the Middle World, and Xibalba as well. Among the modern-day Maya, caves are seen as symbolic portals to the Underworld, to that place of fear, Xibalba, which is itself intangible and may just be a state of mind. The Mayans cherish the belief in the Sun and Moon’s ascent from the Xibalba, just as monotheists cherish the belief in eternal life and the resurrection of the soul. Neither variation on the theme of immortality must have a concrete location. James Bradley, in “The Maya’s Sacred Caves” (*American Archaeology*, vol. 15, nu.2, 19) remarks that “even the sun and moon have come out of caves.” It is an undeniable reference to the Twins’ escape from Xibalba. Contemporary Mayan rituals: prayers for rain, health and well-being, are conducted at the entrances to caves, just as the beginning of the new time cycle, the 13<sup>th</sup> *Baktun*, was also commemorated all over Central America in the caves of the Mayas. The cave (Xibalba) could not be ignored, but it could be transformed.

The Mayans were not the only people to view the Sun and Moon as arising from a cave. Dominican historian Frank Moya Pons has documented the Taino belief, recorded in early Spanish missionary accounts, of a specific cave in Quisqueya (modern-day D.R.), Jovoveva, as the site of the Sun and Moon’s birth (Moya Pons. *Arte Taino* 25). Ascending into the sky, the

duality that they represent, Sun and Moon, or, in certain parts of Central America, Venus and Moon, illuminates the upper, middle and lower firmaments simultaneously. Hunahpu is sometimes represented as Venus, which appears, reappears, and disappears on the horizon during the sidereal year; his sibling Ixbalaamque, the Moon, is more constant. Unlike his Twin, Ixbalaamque will never “lose his head.” He will never be frightened by those gods who, the Mayans felt, were hardly awe-inspiring. Knowing their own gods’ vulnerability frees the Maya from the fear and trembling engendered by other gods, and by other political regimes.

Paria Caca is, like the Twins, entrusted with establishing a livable social order that will replace the chaos in which the Andean world was, according to the *HM*, immersed since Creation. Confrontations between highland Yauyo hunters and lowland Yunca pastoralists are resolved, as Claudette Kemper Columbus notes (Kemper, “Llamastronomers 31-44) through the sexual agency of Paria Caca and his extravagant five-armed sister, Chaupi Namca. Chapter 9 of the *HM* describes the forging of the new social contract, revolving around the brother/sister foundational pair. The deities Chaupi Namca (Yunca) and Paria Caca (Yauyo) became the totemic ancestors of the two previously warring peoples, and in the *HM*, Chap. 9, p. 71, Paria Caca re-consecrates Yuncas and Yauyos with a shared law to take precedence over their conflicting origins.

The Yuncas, some of whose deities may have originated in the more warlike Moche culture of Northern Peru (1-9<sup>th</sup> century ACE), may have abandoned the practice of human sacrifice specifically through their intermarriage with the Yauyo hunters. Luis Millones remarks on the few surviving Yunca words noted by Middendorf as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century: one of these is the Moche moon goddess Sian, and one is the vampire deity Ai Aipec (Luis Millones and Renata Mayer. *Dioses y animals de los Andes peruanos* 30-1). If these are

linguistic vestiges of older beliefs, then Huallallo had his genesis in a civilization far older than Paria Caca's, but it (the Yunca offshoot of Moche culture) was a civilization that may have left its bloodier practices when hormones intervened over ritual. The Yuncas and Yauyos agreed upon truces and fell in love/lust with each other, and these truces were reinforced through worship. (Chapter 11 of *Huarochiri* describes how Tutayquire, one of Paria Caca's sons, detained the Yauyo conquest of Yunca lands after being smitten by one of Chaupi Namca's seductive sisters). In the old days the epics were celebrated, perhaps theatrically re-enacted: "They say he (Paria Caca) gave a command to one particular person in each village: 'Once every year you are to hold a paschal celebration re-enacting my life'" (*HM* 9, 71). The citation denotes memory of the prohibited religions, translated in "paschal" terms which the Spanish censors and "idol-hunters" would understand.

The text also records the transference of the site of Paria Caca's pilgrimage site so as not to waken the suspicions of Colonial auditors: "In the old times they used to go to Paria caca mountain itself. But now they go from Checa to a mountain called Ynca Caya....to worship from there" (*HM* 9, 72). The transference of the site to an alternative place invokes the immaterial nature of Xibalba rather than the immutable (and sometimes invented) sites of the three Abrahamic religions. The transference of Paria Caca's mountain re-negotiates the Holy in non-Incan Andean terms. As with the Maya, Yunca/Yauyo sanctity could be reached through flexible and alternating portals. When one altar was desecrated, another was invested by the worshippers with the same meaning. The holy site, the holy object, was more a product of the qualities attributed to it, more than it was due to any ingrained quality.

Although moving the Coricancha, the Sun Temple, from Cuzco to another locale was unthinkable, and politically disastrous, for the Inca, Paria Caca's followers enjoyed greater

geographical mobility. If colonial authorities made the summit of Paria Caca's mountain unreachable, another hilltop would suffice. The huaca, like Xibalba, did not bind itself to one spot. Holiness, like evil, pervaded all areas. The *Codice de Quahquechollan*, a 16<sup>th</sup> century pictorial record of the conquests of the Alvarado brothers<sup>299</sup>, Jorge and Pedro, in the Mayan city-states of today's Guatemala, reiterated visually the process of destruction and rebirth of Mayan entities; where the Conquistador trod, another village would spring up and rebel. It was a maddening situation for Spanish soldiers used to an empire like the Aztecs, one that could be beheaded easily. But even the imperial Inca temperament appeared to learn a few lessons from the peoples it had conquered, after the Spanish had conquered them. Rather than succumbing Aztec style to Spanish power and Spanish economic domination, a thirty-year rebellion in Villcapampa showed the Conquistadors that Cuzco could be reconstructed, in a limited political sense if not an architectural one, after the original Cuzco had been subjugated. And even after Vilcapampa's fall in 1572, the Andean area remained as factious as Central America was for Spain. Adventurers who wanted an easy life chose the former Aztec areas of Mexico, where docility, and despairing resignation, prevailed. Mayas and Andeans certainly had their moments of intense despair. But their despair gave way to anger, and heroically, they fought.

Yuncas and Yauyos danced in Llacsá Tambo, the place where, as Gonzalo Holguin defined the words, the blood freezes with fear. In *Huarochiri* Llacsá Tambo becomes a testing ground for the Andean principle of *tinku*, the shifting balance of duality which never assures either a happy or sad ending, because there is no ending at all. Xibalba, the Mayan "place of fear," recognized a similar duality. In the *Popul Vuh* the Twins combined in their birth-origin

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<sup>299</sup> The *Codice de Quahquechollan* is explained, visually and historically, in Guatemala's Museum of the *Popul Vuh*. Since 2013, research has substantiated the role of Aztec and Tlaxcallan mercenaries in the Conquest of Guatemala, exacerbating contradictory readings of the Conquest by the Maya, on the one hand, and the Nahuatl, on the other.

the gods of the Upper and lower worlds, Ixq'iq's Xibalban roots as well as her rejection of Xibalba's cruelty. Their final ascension as Sun and Moon does not reject the Netherworld. It contextualizes it, as part of a larger cycle, where light leads, always and inevitably, back to Life. In *Huarochiri* Paria Caca and his sister may also be taken as the offspring of the Sun and moon, but the *HM* only postulates this tentatively in Chapters 10 and 13, without the certainty of the *PV*. Whether or not they descend from the Sun and Moon, Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca comprise the male/female duality, ethnically distinct (he is Yauyo and she is Yunca) and therefore central for assuring peace. Chaupi Namca shares similarities with her Yauyo "brother;" like Paria Caca, she is one of five siblings, and like him, she is all of them simultaneously.

In the *PV*, the Hero twins attain immortality when they proclaim their names before the Lords of Xibalba. But the identities of Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca are more fragmentary, due to the nature of the *Manuscript*. Their identities seem to have been interrupted in mid-formation, so each one has one mysterious shadow self: the unnamed sister for Chaupi Namca, the anonymous brother for Paria Caca. Variations on the theme of "naming" in the *PV* and the *HM* may have historical roots. Maya civilization was already more than three thousand years old when they clashed with expansionist armies, first Aztec, and then Spanish. The features of Mayan cosmology had evolved and achieved maturity beyond either of their adversaries. While the antiquity of Paria Caca's cult is far older than Inca belief, which began to congeal around 1100 AD, its exact chronology has not yet been determined, and Paria Caca and his sister may have been very much a work in progress when the Conquest stunted their growth. In any case, it is certain that the Yunca and Yauyo cultures of Peru were younger than the Mayas by at least two thousand years. Peru's most ancient civilization, Caral, which pre-dates the Mayas by a

millennium, was far to the north of Huarochiri, but it bequeathed that culture, and all others in Peru, the use of the quipus which Incas would appropriate for purposes of state control.

On page 79, note 301 of Salomon's *HM*, the anthropologist notes that Fabian de Ayala had reported on the existence of an Andean mummy in 1611 among the Indians of Huarochiri, a relic that was later desecrated in Church-sponsored persecutions. The name of the mummy was Tarayquiri. Ayala states that these human remains had belonged to a valiant warrior, but he does not identify Tarayquiri. Salomon suggests that Tarayquiri may be a linguistic twisting of Tutayquiri...one of Paria Caca's sons, mentioned in the *Manuscript*. Ayala records the date for Tarayquiri's death as sometime "over 600 years ago." Here I would add that what was more than 600 years old in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Ayala was writing, would place it roughly in the 10<sup>th</sup> century ACE. That period marks the time in which Yunca and Yauyo peoples came into (somewhat problematic) contact in the Huarochiri highlands, according to the current archaeological consensus in Peru (see: Museum of Anthropology, Lima). Thus, the Yuncas and Yauyos were first entering their Classical period, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century ACE, just as the Mayas, older but just as unruly, were finishing theirs and beginning their far less theocratic Post-Classic period. Cultural youth may constitute some explanation for the unnamed fifth personage within both Paria Caca and Chaupi Namca. In their incompleteness, the two do appear to be "twins."

Paria Caca was, as we have seen, unable to dominate his appetites with Choque Sosa, but his sister surpasses him in bouts of sexual vigor. This validates Yanez del Pozo's contention that the *HM* demonstrates a "certain supremacy of the female gender" (Beauclair 2005, 83). Chaupi Namca is insatiable. Only one man, Rucanota, is well-endowed enough to satisfy her, as we learn in Chapter Ten: "Only this man, alone among all the other huacas, is a



real man. I'll stay with this one forever.' So she turned into stone and stayed forever in Mama" (*HM* Salomon 1996, 78). Chaupi Namca deifies herself and enjoys the object of her desire, Rucanota, for all time. Chaupi Namca deifies herself and enjoys the object of her desire for eternity, whereas her brother Paria Caca lost Choque Sosa when that woman became deified, when she "turned to stone," at her own behest, not at Paria Caca's bidding. Sexual availability depends on will, not rock.

This petrification, as Celia Rubin notes, is a dynamic state in Andean literature, and it does not preclude the ability to reintegrate into the human form. According to Rubin, the stone may alternately adopt passive or active roles, depending on its underlying narrative (Cecilia Rubin "La Piedra Inkaychu" 287). So Chaupi Namca can be both subject and place, like her brother, both mountain and five-fold human hero. As mistress of ceremonies of the Casa Yaco dance, Chaupi Namca's sexuality promises a life cycle where the gods of Death, such as Huallallo, or the later gods of the Spanish Conquest, are reducible and finite. Like Ixqiq, Chaupi Namca cannot be assimilated in the "syncretic," and highly asymmetric, theology of the Conquest. The Aztecs' Mother Goddess Tonantzin was reborn as the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the bulbous form of the Inca's Pachamama asserted itself in the Virgin's guise in the paintings of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Cuzco

But Mayas and non-Incan Andeans, as ever, frustrate the imperial scheme. The daughter of a hellish lord, pregnant out of wedlock and disobedient, Ixqiq was no prototype for the Heavenly Mother. Chaupi Namca was even less so: she laughed while nude men danced and drank. " 'Chaupi Namca enjoys it no end when she sees our private parts, they said as they danced naked. After they danced this dance, a very fertile season would follow' " (*HM* 10, 78). The Mayas, even during their Classic Period, preferred historical monuments to votive statues,

as Tatiana Proskouriakoff proved in her analysis of royal Maya portraiture in Copan. They did also draw their gods, but they preferred to draw their kings, and queens. Since Ixq'iq had never lived, in the human historical sense, she also could never die. Therefore ecclesiastical bans on Mayan images did little to reduce Ixq'iq's appeal. Mayan villages have kept Ixq'iq alive in word, deed, and dramatic productions, illegally during the colonial period, and openly throughout the modern period. Ruud Van Akkeren has recorded enactments of Ixq'iq's story throughout the 2000s; since unlike Aztec gods Ixq'iq needed no sculpture. Until now (2014) no statue of her has been discovered, she also transcends materiality, mocking the Conquest.

Although the Andean cultures were more attached to spiritual plasticity, consecrating sites and rocks and unusual outcroppings, the majority of their votive statues, together with the Incas' royal mummies, met a fiery end in the anti-“idolatry” persecutions of 1572, and the later campaigns of the Inquisition in Huarochiri in the 1660s. But Andean materiality was very elastic. Once a statue was smashed, any vestige of it, a splinter, a scraping, could metonymically symbolize the previous form. Andeans did not innovate in this, their response to Spanish intolerance. They had seen it before, when the priests of the non-Incan god, Catequil (of the Carambe nation, conquered by the Incas in their northern forays) were killed. The idol of Catequil was smashed by Atahualpa, who was furious at Catequil's negative oracle regarding his reign. The Inca emperor desecrated Catequil's altar with a zeal that later Conquistadors could envy, but Catequil's followers continued to adore their god. They reconstructed the fragments of his idol and buoyed, perhaps, by the retroactive accuracy of Catequil's words, they continued to pray to him and defy colonial authorities, long after Inca deities had receded from consciousness.

What then, to do with Chaupi Namca? Did she survive both Incas and Conquistadors? Apparently she did: Yuncas and Yauyos simply maneuvered a new site for their huaca, under the very nose of colonial authority. “Later on, when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Namca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest’s stable. She’s there to this day, inside the earth” (*HM* 10, 77). Her huaca’s hiding place violates Church property, and becomes an immense cosmic joke. Chaupi Namca enjoys the last laugh.

As with the post-Classic Mayas, the Yuncas and Yauyos had forged a more livable social and theological order that dispensed with mass sacrifice, or the more refined Conquest-era despotism. In Chapter 24 of *Huarochiri*, we see how much gentler that social order could have been, had it not been truncated by the Conquest. In a comical segment with his absent minded Yauyo devotees, who lose Paria Caca’s helmet, are unsuccessful in retrieving it, and then wail childishly until their deity mollifies them, we can glimpse the type of society that could have evolved more thoroughly had Empire, of both the European and Native American variety, not intervened. “On one occasion they went to worship Paria Caca, carrying along the golden headdress. But while they were crossing the river called Pari Ayre they dropped it. They searched for it like anything, all the way upstream and downstream. But it didn’t turn up, so they went to Paria Caca without it. When they arrived on the morrow, the golden headdress stood there right at Paria Caca’s side...Rebuking them harshly, Paria Caca said, ‘You didn’t win it [the helmet] in victorious warfare’... ‘Please return it to us or give us something else instead...’...replied Paria Caca: ‘go back. I’ll give you something during my sister Chaupi Namca’s festival’...And as foretold, on Chaupi Namca’s festival...on top of the wall, a very beautifully spotted wildcat appeared. When they saw it, they exclaimed joyfully, ‘This is what

Paria Caca meant, and they held [it] up as they danced and sang with it....” (*HM* 24, 118-119). The object itself-the golden helmet-is of little concern to Paria Caca, and his aura is not injured in any way by the Yauyo’s carelessness. So it is NOT comparable to the mimetic ceremonies surrounding the Incan “inkaychu” stone, wherein damage to the votive object, the stone, bodes ill for the stone’s owner. Ironic as this may appear within the supernatural landscape of the *HM*, man-god relationships are divested of their magical sheen, and flower instead into the give and take of a parental dialogue.

Only in a world, in a “pacha” where people have lost their fear of the gods, is such an interchange possible between divinities and worshippers. The literary counterpart of *Huarochiri*’s vision is neither Bible nor the Koran, neither Aztec nor Inca pantheons with their hungry solar gods nor, despite some similarities, the Hindu scriptures where gods are more flexible but, as in monotheism, steadfastly revered. Its only literary counterpart is the *Popul Vuh*, where fear of the gods has been diluted, even in the place of fear itself, Xibalba. Knowing the darkness from within-our two renegade Twins are the offspring of Xibalba’s spawn, the renegade Lady Ixqiq, and they provide humanity with the parental guidance that mitigates the darkness. Hunahpu and Ixbalamque dispel the gloom by providing the alternating lights, the Sun and the Moon. As in any successful shamanic quest, the subjects, the Holy Clowns, share their victory with others, with the generations who will populate the world after their apotheosis. In these Mayan and Andean worlds of no apocalypse but of ongoing confrontations with evil, people had need of gods, protector gods, and not wrathful ones. No Inquisition, and no obsidian axes. The universe was itself sacred, so the new deities had to reflect the holiness more than the anger that seemed to characterize the foundational phases of monotheistic and polytheistic religion.

Light, the dissipation of fear, had been, in the *Popul Vuh*, limited by the older gods. They had been terrified by the flawless sight of the human beings whom they had created. If humans could perceive what the gods could, then they could apprehend the divine realm for themselves. Human vision, reasoned the first gods, must be restricted, a literary vestige of those theologies, and those political regimes, that governed through intimidation.

Heart of Sky, Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, Bearer, Begetter, Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, Maker, Modeler, as they are called. And when they changed the nature of their works, their designs, it was enough that human eyes be marred by the Heart of Sky. They were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon. Their vision flickered. Now it was only from close up that they could see with any clarity. And such was the loss of the means of understanding along with the means of knowing everything, by the four humans (*PV* Tedlock, Part 4, 148).

The Twins' essence, embodied in the Sun and Moon, remains visible for all humans, and the wisdom of that lost sight, in a profound literary act of rebellion, is the writing and transmission of the *Popul Vuh* itself. Like Chaupi Namca's huaca, chuckling underground beneath Church property, another vision supplants the blindness imposed by terror-based gods.

The Hero Twins do not accomplish an absolute metamorphosis of the Mayan universe in the *Popul Vuh* and Paria Caca and his followers do not do so in *Huarochiri*. In the literary imaginations, and spiritual teachings, of Mayans and Andeans, overrun by foreign Conquests and by their own fratricidal infighting, Evil existed, and it had to be accounted for. There was no lost Eden though; the past had been horrible, and the future hardly looked enjoyable. But the human struggle continued, and it is worthwhile noting that, because Mayans and Andeans remained aware of the fallacies within their own systems, the texts are honest and humorous when exposing one's own flaws. Even the gods we like, the later, less sacrificial ones, can be fools at times. This self-critical consciousness is not a side-light; it is necessary to understand the world-view of the peoples that this thesis studies. Maya tradition praises the story (whether

historical or apocryphal, its message is the same) of Gonzalo Guerrero, the Spaniard who chose to rebuff Cortes' offer of reconciliation and reputedly died fighting the Spanish armies in Honduras in the 1530s; Huarochiri's history is marked by the well-documented encounter between its last *curaka* and one of the only pro-indigenous representatives of Andean independence, Jose Francisco de San Martin. Spaniards and Indians were, at the end, able to collaborate, as long as their objective was the same, namely, the dethroning of the wrathful gods.

My companions of the Army of the Andes...we must fight in the only manner that we can...if food runs out...and if clothing runs out...then we will go naked like our countrymen the Indians. We will be free, and the rest does not matter at all." (*Companeros del Ejercito de los Andes....la guerra la tenemos que hacer del modo que podemos....si se nos escasea la comida....si se nos escasea la ropa.....pues andaremos en pelota como nuestros paisanos los indios. Seremos libres, y lo demas no importa nada*). General Jose Francisco de San Martin, address to the Free Army of the Andes during the wars of independence, Argentina 1819.

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